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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Thomas Hart Benton: Southern Realist

ELBERT B. SMITH

OF the many and varied efforts to explain the origins of the American Civil War, none deserves more attention than the interpretation exemplified by the career of Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri. Benton was both a slaveholder and a free-soiler, and thus uniquely qualified to appreciate both sides of the slavery quarrel. To him the real contest of the ante-bellum period was a battle of concrete reality against abstract distortion and exaggeration. His struggles to convince fellow slaveholders that they were embarking upon a course which could result only in destruction led him to political suicide and a loss of reputation which has never been fully restored. For too long his purposes and efforts have gone without proper understanding or appreciation. The following study is presented as an effort to correct this situation.

Born of able parents and shaped in the rowdy, rough-and-tumble environments of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Missouri, Benton was no ordinary person. His early exploits included numerous frontier brawls, a spectacular shooting affray with Andrew Jackson, and a fatal duel. Physical size, enormous brute force, and temper were not, however, his only characteristics.

He possessed also a keen mind and an extensive self-acquired education, which eventually gained him recognition as one of the best-informed men in public life. Above all, he was a nationalist, unswervingly devoted to a concept of the American Union as a great world experiment in democracy. To Benton, this Union had been selected by Providence to shape the future destinies of mankind, and its improvement, perpetuation, and expansion he considered the primary duty of every American.¹

From the beginning of the slavery quarrel, Benton held attitudes shared by neither of the opposing sides, and with little regard for his private political fortunes he battled consistently with antagonists from both camps. Throughout the 1840's his great enemy was John C. Calhoun. His opponents in the 1850's included literally all extremists of both sections, those who inadvertently aided the extremists, and finally even his own closest relatives and friends. The most important phase of this conflict, however, was during the period ending in 1850, when the chief object of his wrath was his great fellow Southerner, Calhoun.

The owner of plantations and many slaves, Benton was acutely aware that modern technology was shifting the center of wealth and economic power from the agrarian South to the industrial North. He did not, however, blame this upon political exploitation and was certain that the South could and must find its salvation within the Union. Equally opposed to extension of slavery into areas opposing it and to the activities of abolitionists wishing to tamper with the existing institution, he regarded the fiery quarrels over both questions as mere shadowboxing and without practical meaning. He was certain that slavery had already reached natural and human boundaries which could not be transcended by all the constitutional logic in the world. Abolition, however, he considered an empty threat. He constantly pointed out the continued Southern domination of national politics by alliance with certain parts of the West, and the conspicuous absence of responsible persons ready to lead a bloody crusade against slavery. These facts, he insisted, were proof that Southern slavery was in no danger if its advocates would only substitute intelligence for emotion. The possibility that what he considered "the world's last hope for free government on the earth"² might be destroyed by needless quarrels he blamed upon extremism motivated by either confused thinking or dishonest ambition. In Benton's mind, finally, no one ever

¹ As early as 1826 he was recommending expansion to the "borders and confines of the 'Celestial Empire,'" that the lights of science and religion might be given the Orient. His Oregon speech of 1846 prophesied racial and cultural as well as political amalgamation to raise Oriental peoples to a new level of existence. *Debates in Congress*, II (19 Cong., 1 sess., 1825-26), 732; *Congressional Globe*, XV (29 Cong., 1 sess., 1845-46), 913-20.

² Speech at St. Louis against his son-in-law, Frémont, *Jefferson Enquirer* (Missouri), Nov. 8, 1856.

exemplified both these deplorable faults quite so completely as did Calhoun, for whom his original dislike slowly grew to a mortal hatred.

Benton first spoke on slavery during the famous Senate debates of 1830, which reached their climax with the reply of Webster to Hayne. When Webster introduced the subject of slavery, Benton insisted that the institution would eventually disappear for the only reason it had ever disappeared anywhere—reasons of economy making it cheaper to hire a man than own him. Stressing the delicate questions involved in the race situation, however, he pleaded for tolerance and understanding in permitting slavery to run its natural course. The South, he avowed, being the one afflicted, knew best where the shoe pinched, and would be best qualified to find an eventual solution.³

When the bitter Senate struggle over receiving abolition petitions began in 1836, Benton denounced the abolitionists, but pointed out that even in the North they were a tiny, much persecuted minority. Having been repudiated in the North, he said, the abolitionists could best be silenced by a treatment of studied neglect. He agreed with an overwhelming majority of the Senate that to avoid any debate on the subject the petitions should be accepted and promptly tabled without discussion. Calhoun's insistence upon weeks of debate over the mere right to accept the petitions was, he felt, too favorable an advantage for the abolitionists, and numerous other senators, from both North and South, echoed this sentiment. When Calhoun read an abolition newspaper article to the Senate, Benton acidly requested that it be stricken from the record, lest the article's circulation be increased ten thousand times by the reading.⁴ The prestige gained in this debate by the abolitionists through their identification as guardians of the sacred right of petition later confirmed all Benton's worst fears.

A far more important struggle between the two great opposing diagnosticians of Southern ills occurred, however, in the debates over the recognition of Texas. By his insistence that Texas must be annexed for one great purpose—the perpetuation of slavery—Calhoun consistently strengthened abolitionist charges that the advocates of slavery were plotting to extend it. Calhoun apparently divided all men into two classes—builders and destroyers of slavery. Thus, he reasoned, a Northern refusal to support the cause of slavery in Texas would be ample proof of danger to the South—and the most demonstrable proof of that danger likely to appear.⁵ That people could

³ *Debates in Congress*, VI (21 Cong., 1 sess., 1829-30), 106-108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XII (24 Cong., 1 sess., 1835-36), 85-87, for Benton's speech; full debates on pp. 73-99, 186-211, 471-531, 636-721, 726-47, 751-80, 786-88, 803-10.

⁵ This conclusion is based upon a careful study of the correspondence related to the treaty in House Executive Document 271, *Congressional Documents*, no. 444 (28 Cong., 1 sess., 1843-

oppose slavery and its expansion on principle without any desire to risk their lives in a military crusade against the institution Calhoun did not admit. The inertia and self-interest which lead most human beings to prefer goals far less exacting and more personally rewarding were factors rarely included in the dialectics which produced the Calhoun version of Southern wrongs and dangers.

Fortune at this point smiled upon Calhoun. The unhappy *Princeton* explosion enabled him both to sign a treaty of annexation with Texas personally and to write the famous letter to the British which officially made a vote for his treaty a vote for slavery.

In 1836, Benton had defended the Texas revolution as a movement unconnected with slavery and had pleaded against any premature annexation which might bring unjust war with Mexico and unnecessary sectional conflict.⁶ Opposition to immediate annexation in 1843 was dangerous for one seeking re-election in rabidly proslavery, pro-Texas Missouri, but Old Bullion immediately launched a smashing attack destined to upset completely Calhoun's expectations of a division based upon attitudes toward slavery. Dominating the Senate for hours, he reviewed with full documentation the inconsistencies of the negotiations, including the various letters supposedly connecting the British with an abolition plot. A treaty without previous boundary settlements with Mexico, he said, could lead only to useless war, whereas a minimum of patience in a situation where time was all on the American side would eventually bring Texas into the Union without bloodshed. Proclaiming the annexation of Texas a great national project of far more concern to the West than the South, he fiercely denounced the effort to create from it a North-South struggle as dishonest agitation motivated by political considerations. The written assurances of the British government, to say nothing of the obvious resistance such an economic and social upheaval would face in Texas, he cited as proof that abolitionist designs in Texas were nonexistent, a threat invented by the followers of Calhoun.⁷

Calhoun's treaty suffered an overwhelming defeat, opposed even by nine

44, VI), and much of Calhoun's private correspondence. On July 2, 1844, Calhoun wrote J. R. Matthews: "I had hoped to draw out a full correspondence by my letters to Mr. Pakenham. . . . and I doubt not, what was intended would have been accomplished, had the Senate done its duty and ratified the treaty. Their neglect to do so, I fear, will not only lose Texas to the Union, but also defeat my aim in reference to the correspondence. . . . It will, I fear, be difficult to get another so favorable to bring out our cause so fully and favorably before the world, I shall omit none, which may afford a decent pretext for renewing the correspondence." Calhoun MSS, Library of Congress.

⁶ *Debates in Congress*, XII (24 Cong., 1 sess., 1835-36), 1925-28.

⁷ *Cong. Globe*, XIII (28 Cong., 1 sess., 1843-44), appendix, 474-86.

of the twenty voting Southerners,⁸ and Benton was openly charged with being the chief cause of the defeat. Two days later Benton offered a solution calling for annexation without war or sectional conflict. His bill stipulated a careful definition of boundaries with respect for legal Mexican rights, and the assent of Mexico as a prerequisite for annexation, unless Congress, the only agency empowered to decide matters of peace and war, should decide otherwise. To avoid sectional strife, he would form Texas into one slave state equal in size to the largest existing state and organize its remaining area into territories later to be divided equally into free and slave states. This proposition, which clearly recognized the basic problems involved, was finally tabled by a margin of five in what was almost a straight party vote. The bill was heavily backed by moderate Democrats, but the Whigs, unwilling to accept any annexation at all, opposed it as a bloc.⁹

During the struggle over the Benton measure, Benton and Senator McDuffie of South Carolina entered into a furious debate. When the Carolinian warned that the Calhoun treaty, like Caesar's ghost at Philippi, would return to defeat Benton in the coming election, the ponderous Missourian rose to the occasion like a Roman gladiator. Striking McDuffie's desk a shattering blow, he hurled a reply which brought applause from the packed galleries, nation-wide attention in the press, and even a handshake of congratulations from an ancient enemy, John Quincy Adams. Said Benton:

The senator . . . compares the rejected treaty with the slain Caesar, and gives it a ghost, which is to meet me at some future day, as the spectre met Brutus at Philippi. . . . I can promise the ghost and his backers that if the fight goes against me at this new Philippi . . . and the enemies of the American Union triumph over me . . . I shall not fall upon my sword . . . but I shall save it, and save myself for another day, and for another use—for the day when the battle of the disunion of these States is to be fought—not with words, but with iron—and for the hearts of the traitors who appear in arms against their country.¹⁰

Benton's idol, the aging Andrew Jackson, had never understood the Missourian's attitude toward annexation of Texas, and now Benton's gracious acceptance of congratulations from Adams, the old arch enemy of the Jacksonians, sent Old Hickory into a fury of protest. For Benton, however, Adams' position as a unionist had erased the old differences and bitterness. When Adams died in 1848, Benton would rise to deliver a magnificent

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 652.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 653-57, 673.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 610, entire debate, pp. 588-90, 607-11; reports of *New York Express* and *Baltimore Patriot* reprinted in *Niles Register*, LXVI (1844), 272-95; report of *New York Evening Post*, reprinted in *National Intelligencer*, June 15, 1844; *National Intelligencer*, July 11, 1844.

eulogy on Adams' abilities and his services to the nation throughout his long career.¹¹

Benton, furthermore, had been a devil incarnate in the eyes of Henry Clay and the Whigs for more than a decade, but in 1844 they welcomed his Texas arguments as tools for use in Clay's presidential campaign. Benton dutifully supported James K. Polk, if not his platform, but the Missourian's speeches, widely circulated in Whig pamphlets, undoubtedly strengthened Clay's position on the annexation issue.¹² Indeed, but for the votes garnered by the Liberty party in New York, the election would have brought Clay, the avowed enemy of annexation, to the White House, and the new president's debt to his old enemy from Missouri would have been great.

In Missouri, meanwhile, Benton risked political suicide by campaigning for re-election without retreat on the Texas issue. He managed to survive, but his formerly invincible machine was able to return him to the Senate by only a slim margin, and it never fully recovered from the blows suffered in this campaign.

In the following session, Benton surprised many by finally supporting the joint resolution for annexation, thus swinging six votes into line and making possible its enactment. The explanation, however, is relatively simple and easily documented. He had been persuaded by Andrew Jackson and Andrew J. Donelson that Polk would enact a treaty which he, Benton, could support in full conscience. Acting on the commonly shared assumption that Polk would be the President to execute the resolution, Benton and the senators under his influence cast the deciding votes.¹³ Benton never ceased to regard as a betrayal the fast action taken by Tyler and Calhoun to complete the annexation before the inauguration of Polk.

Despite the shelving of his friends, Van Buren and Blair, by the new administration, Benton soon offered Polk many valuable and needed services. He bitterly opposed war with Mexico until shooting actually began. Then, however, as chairman of the committee on military affairs, he turned his knowledge of the West, frontier contacts, and dreams of expansion to the task of rapid victory at maximum profit. Shortly after the war began, Benton summoned the wily frontier trader, James Magoffin, to Washington.

¹¹ Jackson to Blair, June 25, 1844, Blair to Jackson, July 7, 1844, Jackson MSS, Library of Congress. Benton's eulogy of Adams and his feelings on the occasion in Thomas H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1856), II, 707-709.

¹² References to havoc being wrought by Benton speeches in letters in Jackson, Van Buren, and Blair MSS, Library of Congress. Condemnations from various papers in widely scattered areas reprinted in the anti-Benton *Missouri Reporter*, Feb. 8, 1845.

¹³ Jackson to Blair, Sept. 19, 1844, Blair to Jackson, Dec. 22, Dec. 25, 1844, Donelson to Jackson, Dec. 28, 1844, Jackson MSS; Donelson to Calhoun, Dec. 26, 1844, J. Franklin Jameson, ed., "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1899, II, 1011-12; Benton to Donelson, Jan. 10, 1845, Donelson MSS, Library of Congress.

In a private conference, Benton, Magoffin, and the President developed the plan whereby Magoffin's "fifth column" exploits enabled the virtually bloodless conquest of New Mexico. Benton's role in fostering the actions of Frémont in the seizure of California is well known. Until Old Bullion's refusal to go to Mexico as a subordinate major general and his quarrel with the President over the unfortunate Frémont court-martial, he was Polk's chief military adviser, and the plan of attack which ultimately ended the war originated with Benton.¹⁴ Only the opposition of Calhoun in the Senate prevented Benton's becoming commander in chief of the armies in Mexico with powers to direct top level policy and negotiate for peace.

In the Senate, meanwhile, as Benton became a leading administration supporter, Calhoun became its bitter opponent. Benton took the lead in settling the Oregon question at the forty-ninth parallel, as Calhoun opposed even an abrogation of the joint occupation with Britain. As usual, Benton was opposed by many in both sections—those who would do nothing and those demanding "fifty-four forty or fight!"¹⁵ Sharper conflicts came, however, over Calhoun's opposition to military appropriations. Fearing that expensive military operations would necessitate higher tariffs, Calhoun wished the army merely to hold an established line and await Mexican peace offers. Also, the Carolinian interrupted debate on an important army bill to introduce resolutions condemning the Missouri Compromise and demanding constitutional protection for slavery in all territories. Benton assailed him savagely for delaying the serious business of prosecuting the war just to introduce abstract "firebrands to set the world on fire," and again the two were at swords' points over the slavery question.¹⁶

Well informed concerning the West, Benton knew that slavery could

¹⁴ Milo M. Quaife, ed., *The Diary of James K. Polk during His Presidency, 1845 to 1849* (Chicago, 1910), I, 326, 375, 390, 392, 408-409, 411, 437-40; II, 5, 16, 68-69, 102, 221-31, 236-40, 243, 259, 262, 268-69, 308-10, 323, 325-27, 331-36, 339, 408-20, 424, 432; III, 52, 61-62, 120-21, 197-98, 228-30; *Cong. Globe*, XVI (29 Cong., 2 sess., 1846-47), 866, 1015-16, 1025-26, and numerous other pages show Benton's support for the administration in its military as well as domestic policies; Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision, 1846* (Boston, 1943), pp. 197-201, 250-51, 263-64, 269-71; Sister Mary Loyola, "American Occupation of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIV (1939), 162; MS copy of lengthy letter of instructions in Benton's handwriting addressed directly to General Taylor, supplemented with brief additions by Polk, and sent to Taylor, Polk MSS, Library of Congress. This is not the later "plan" submitted by Benton in writing to Polk and adopted by the President and his cabinet but an earlier one which is also significant as evidence of Benton's influence. The later document has apparently been lost, perhaps in the burning of Benton's house, although its contents are obvious from Polk's diary and Benton's speeches on the subject at the time. *Polk Diary*, II, 221-23, 227-31; Blair to Van Buren, Dec. 26, 1846, Van Buren MSS; *Cong. Globe*, XVI, 246-47; for the Frémont story see Allan Nevins, *Frémont, Pathmarker of the West* (New York, 1939), pp. 199-300, and the much less favorable interpretation which runs through DeVoto, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ *Cong. Globe*, XV, 401-405, 581-83, 587-91, 851-55, 857-62, 913-20, 1223-24, appendix, 698-702; XVI, 356-59; *Polk Diary*, I, 246-50; II, 68-69, 371, 378.

¹⁶ *Cong. Globe*, XVI, 356-59, 453-55, 494-501.

not compete with peonage in California or New Mexico. Oregon was obviously a northern state. More important, the inhabitants of the new territories were determined to exclude slavery. The first governor, senators, and representatives of the new state of California would all be Southerners, but that state and its people would reject slavery. As Benton expressed it, his dispute with Calhoun was over the "abstract right of carrying slaves there without the exercise of the right," thus reducing their difference to "the difference between refusing and not asking."¹⁷

Though his battle against Calhoun received far more publicity, Benton was equally harsh with Northern counterparts who insisted upon unnecessary restrictions. No one uttered a more descriptive condemnation of the Wilmot Proviso than Benton's burst of fury on the Senate floor:

We read in Holy Writ, that a certain people were cursed by the plague of frogs, and that the plague was everywhere. You could not look upon the table but there were frogs, you could not sit down at the banquet but there were frogs, you could not go to the bridal couch and lift the sheets but there were frogs! We can see nothing, touch nothing, have no measures proposed, without having this pestilence thrust before us. Here it is, this black question, forever on the table, on the nuptial couch, everywhere! So it was not in the better days of the Republic!¹⁸

Over the Proviso, however, practical issues forced Benton to break first with his fellow slaveholders. After the Senate had wrangled bitterly for weeks, he and Sam Houston finally settled an impossible deadlock by voting to grant Oregon's wish for a territorial government which barred slavery.

This so-called betrayal of the South became the driving force behind an all-out effort within his own party against Benton's re-election in 1850. In a dramatic campaign, packed with threats and near violence on many occasions, the 67-year-old Benton toured Missouri, carrying the battle right into enemy strongholds. In the previous session, the Missouri legislature had endorsed the stand of Calhoun and ordered its senators to comply. Benton had ignored these instructions and now assured the people of Missouri that if they wanted to foster disunion they must get themselves another senator, because he would never obey such orders. In speech after speech he cowed his angry and often well-armed opponents. The Union, he thundered, was in mortal danger from those seeking to divide it with threats of nonexistent evils. Slavery itself was in no danger. The extension of slavery into territories not wishing it he proclaimed both wrong and impossible. Calhoun, he charged, was the real author of the instructions he had disobeyed and was following a course which could end only in disunion. He himself, Benton

¹⁷ Benton speech quoted in *Liberty (Missouri) Weekly Tribune*, June 8, 1849; *National Intelligencer*, June 21, 1849.

¹⁸ *Cong. Globe*, XVII (30 Cong., 1 sess., 1847-48), appendix, 686.

insisted, owned far more slaves than most and had no fear whatever that anyone would take them away. As a republic, he warned in a stirring appeal, we owed a world struggling for freedom an example of the blessings which free government could provide, yet:

Once called the model republic by our friends, we are now so-called by our foes; and the slavery discussion and dissensions quoted as the proofs of the impracticable form of government we have adopted. I cannot . . . do anything to depress the cause of struggling freedom throughout Europe.—Nor can I disparage the work, or abuse the gift of our ancestors. . . . They left us the admiration . . . of the friends of freedom throughout the world. And are we, their posterity, in the second generation, to spoil this rich inheritance—mar this noble work—discredit this great example—and throw the weight of the republic against the friends of freedom throughout the world? I cannot do it.¹⁹

The Missouri election of 1850 was a personal tragedy for Benton but a triumph for his ideas, despite Calhoun's ten-column public letter charging him with efforts to give areas won by Southern blood to a motley rabble of Northerners and foreigners.²⁰ Fearing a Whig triumph, Missouri enemies of Benton finally approached him with overtures of peace. Old Bullion answered in a public announcement that he

would sooner sit in council with the six thousand dead who had died of cholera in St. Louis, than go into convention with such a gang of scamps. . . . Even the election of Whigs will be a triumph over them—a victory in behalf of the Union—and that is the over-ruling consideration. . . . Fear of seeing Whigs elected, can have no effect . . . not even a fear of seeing a Whig elected in my place.²¹

When the smoke had cleared, the new Missouri assembly contained sixty-four Whigs, fifty-five Benton Democrats, and only thirty-five of the pro-Calhoun, anti-Benton Democrats. Equally important, his opponents were kept so busy avowing their devotion to the Union that Missouri sent no delegate to the Nashville Convention called by the radicals of the South. Further vindication came when the assembly repudiated the famous instructions which had begun the campaign.

¹⁹ *National Intelligencer*, June 21, 1849. The campaign is well covered in numerous excellent newspaper files in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, and received much attention in New York, Washington, and many other scattered papers. The *National Intelligencer* and *Niles Register* gave it full coverage. A good secondary account is Clarence H. McClure, *Opposition in Missouri to Thomas Hart Benton*, George Peabody College for Teachers Contributions to Education, No. 31 (1927).

²⁰ *National Intelligencer*, July 21, 1849. Calhoun's friends were confident the letter would destroy Benton. Herschel V. Johnson to Calhoun, July 20, 1849, R. K. Crallé to Calhoun, July 25, 1849, Jameson, *op. cit.*, pp. 1197, 1199; Rhett to Calhoun, July 19, 1849, Wilson Lumpkin to Calhoun, Aug. 27, 1849, R. I. Moses to Calhoun, July 26, 1849, Robert P. Brooks and Chauncey S. Boucher, eds., "Correspondence Addressed to John C. Calhoun, 1837-1849," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1929, pp. 517-18, 525-26.

²¹ Benton public letter dated March 8, 1850, *Jefferson Enquirer*, Apr. 6, 1850.

Observers expected a last struggle between Benton and Calhoun in the great session of 1850, but as the Carolinian weakened from the ravages of tuberculosis the battle never materialized. As Benton remarked on one occasion, "Benton will not speak today, for when God Almighty lays his hands on a man, Benton takes his off." When Calhoun died, however, Benton was as silent amid the waves of eulogy as Calhoun had been upon the death of Adams. Urged to show magnanimity and speak, Benton reportedly answered:

He is not dead, sir—he is not dead. There may be no vitality in his body, but there is in his doctrines. . . . My people cannot distinguish between a man and his principles. . . . They cannot eulogize the one and denounce the other.²²

At the beginning of the 1850 session, Benton delivered his exposition of the true nature of the American government. The founding fathers, he said, had "formed a Union—not a league—a Federal Legislature to act upon persons, not upon States," and had provided peaceful remedies in the ballot box and the judiciary for all questions which might arise between the people and the government. The minority might protest and be heard, but its only recourse must be the ballot box or judiciary, and the ultimate decision must lie with the majority. Otherwise, the Union would be at an end.²³

Calhoun, in his last dramatic effort, read by Senator Mason, agreed that the nation had become a consolidated democracy, but, unlike Benton, he saw in this a mortal danger to Southern institutions. Describing the South as a permanent minority, he blamed this condition entirely upon discriminatory legislation such as the Northwest Ordinance, the Missouri Compromise, and the recent Oregon bill, which, by barring slavery, had kept the South out of the Northwest. Further, he charged, unfair financial policies, by shifting wealth northward, had prevented Southern immigration. This decline in the relative population of the slaveholding states, Calhoun insisted, would inevitably lead to abolition, race war, and destruction of the South unless its security could be guaranteed by equal territorial rights and a constitutional amendment to safeguard slavery. Lacking such guarantees, only separation could save the South.²⁴

The tragedy in this faultless logic, presumably the explanation for all Southern fears, lay in the weakness of its basic assumptions. Calhoun stated in effect that the Northeast and Northwest always voted as a unit against the South, that all Southerners were slaveholders and thus all barred from free territories, that tariffs rather than slavery had deterred immigration

²² John Wentworth, *Congressional Reminiscences* (Chicago, 1882), pp. 23-24.

²³ *Cong. Globe*, XIX (31 Cong., 1 sess., 1849-50), 97-98.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 451-55.

to the South, and that only artificial restrictions had prevented removal of enough slaveholding Southerners to the Northwest to make it a proslavery area. The frailty of these postulates, when held before the lights of fact and history, is too obvious for comment. Lastly, Calhoun assumed without question that, in property-conscious America, the representatives of Northern states, many of which forbade the entry of free Negroes, were eagerly awaiting a sufficient majority to enact the unconstitutional abolition of billions of dollars worth of slave property and to launch a willing army southward to free the Negro by military force.

Benton, on the other hand, continued throughout the debates to insist that the South's complaints and fears were without practical foundation. No Congress since 1789 had threatened slavery where it existed, and he saw no reason to expect a change. "We should no more look ahead for causes of disunion," he said, "than we should look ahead for causes of separation from our wives, or for the murder of our mothers." The price of slaves, he pointed out, had never been so high, and nowhere else in the world did so much property go untaxed. Instead, Congress in 1836 had added the Platte Territory, a hundred miles north of the Missouri Compromise line, to the slave state of Missouri, and only five years before had acquired the immense slave area of Texas. The South, he declared, had been inflamed by a cry of "Wolf!" when there was no wolf, and if given a chance, the Senate and the people would prove it.²⁵

Perhaps Benton was underestimating the Northern threat more than Calhoun was overestimating it. Perhaps Calhoun's analysis was correct. The question can never be answered, but much of the evidence existing in 1850 and even later rests with Benton. The Compromise of 1850 was greeted with overwhelming relief throughout the North as well as the South, and, ten years later, Abraham Lincoln would take office still protesting vehemently that neither he nor his party had either the right or the inclination to tamper with Southern slavery.²⁶

Although the great driving force within Thomas Hart Benton was apparently a burning desire for sectional peace and national unity, his methods, unfortunately, often served to undermine the end he was seeking. The debates and conflicts of these years were based upon emotion as well as facts

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 656-62, 762.

²⁶ For an excellent analysis of the relative minority status of the Republican party in 1860 as well as the weakness of abolition sentiment within the party, see David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven, 1942), pp. 112-33. The Democrats won control of both houses of Congress in the election of 1860, losing this power only when the South seceded. These facts provide an excellent argument for the proposition that abolition became dangerous to the South only when it became identified with nationalism and the salvation of the Union.

and logic. Thomas Hart Benton was a master of facts and logic, but at the emotional level he was ill-cast in the role of peacemaker. Benton's dramatic pounding upon the desk of Senator McDuffie, his altercations with Butler and Foote in the sessions of 1849 and 1850, and the personal bitterness in his exchanges with Calhoun—in all of these situations, Benton was fighting the cause of national unity, but in all he was contributing to the process of conflict which helped drive the nation apart. When Benton, in refusing to eulogize the dead Calhoun, said, "My people cannot distinguish between a man and his principles. . . . They cannot eulogize the one and denounce the other," he was expressing an American attitude which would bode ill for the democratic system and national peace in 1861. Unquestionably, Benton's attacks upon persons as well as their ideas detracted much from the effectiveness of his arguments, and at times probably strengthened the doctrines of his opponents. In this respect, he too failed to rise above the spirit which brought war in 1861.

In conclusion, however, there is much to be respected in Thomas Hart Benton and much worthy of attention in his thesis. His understanding of the dangers inherent in the Texas question and his efforts to avoid foreign war and sectional conflict show statesmanship of a high order. His constant search for cold, hard fact rather than doctrinaire principle as a basis for action and his willingness to sacrifice personal fortunes in a battle against fear rather than seeking to expand and exploit it for political advantage were marks of intelligence and courage badly needed in American life at all times. Level-headed, moderate leadership, aware that extremism only breeds extremism at the other pole, was a prime need of the South in the 1840's, because the best that could have been expected from the North for slavery was an attitude of tolerance and understanding. Convinced that moderation was the normal human state of mind, Benton was willing to work for and settle for this without insistence upon outright approval, and such an attitude might well have silenced those busy seeking to create a false image of a brutal, implacable "slave power." There would soon be no place in high councils of either section, however, for a man able to be both slaveholder and free-soiler and yet able to place the Union above both considerations.

Despised by the abolitionists, hated in the South, and unwilling to join his ideological compatriots, the free-soilers, because of his conviction that their sectional party activities menaced the Union, the Old Bison made his way alone, but with customary vigor. In rapid succession, he produced two enormous works of history, served a term in the House of Representatives, where he attacked both Douglas and the free-soilers on the Kansas issue,

stumped Missouri for Buchanan against his own son-in-law in 1856, composed a virulent attack upon the Dred Scott decision, compiled a sixteen-volume *Abridgement of the Debates in Congress*, and lectured throughout New England on the dire need for national unity. When he died of cancer in 1858, attended to the last by a faithful black slave nurse, his last thoughts were of the perils facing his beloved American Union.

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The Anti-Revolutionary Rousseau

GORDON H. McNEIL

ONE of the most familiar stereotypes in the history of political theory is that of Jean Jacques Rousseau as the revolutionary spokesman and prophet, the great apostle of the working classes, urging the great mass of disinherited Frenchmen on to their great revolution for the recovery of their lost freedom.¹ It is a theme which is all too familiar, and one which is accepted "without fear and without research," to quote the late Professor Becker.

There of course has been research on the subject, and some students have opposed this stereotype. Ever since the first year of the Revolution there have been those who have proclaimed not a revolutionary but an anti-revolutionary Rousseau. Others, less extreme, have argued that Rousseau's influence was present, but that it was not as direct and overwhelming as commonly assumed. Edme Champion's brief study, *J.-J. Rousseau et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1909), is a closely argued and carefully documented statement of the thesis that Rousseau was not the obvious precursor of the Revolution, that in some respects his thought was opposed to the trend of the Revolution.

Yet Hugo's Gavroche sang, "C'est la faute à Rousseau," and serious scholars have accepted this at its face value in spite of the work of Champion and others. This article will attempt to show that this stereotype of Rousseau's close causal connection with the French Revolution is particularly open to question in the light of the essentially conservative, anti-revolutionary tone of much of his political thought, an aspect of his writings to which considerable publicity was given by conservative writers during the early years of the Revolution.

Jean Jacques Rousseau as prophet and founder of the French Revolution was a creation of the Revolution itself.² Prior to 1789, he had made his reputation not as a political philosopher but as a novelist, educational theorist, and exponent of advanced religious ideas. When the authorities in Paris took action against him, it was his *Emile* that was attacked, not the relatively

¹ American writers of history and other textbooks continue to write in this vein, with some exceptions.

² For a detailed study of the displacement of the literary cult of Rousseau by a political cult, see the author's "The Cult of Rousseau and the French Revolution," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, VI (1945), 197-221; and "The Cult of Rousseau and the Revolutionary Spirit in France, 1750-1800" (unpublished dissertation, University of Chicago, 1941).

unnoticed *Contrat social*, and, until the Revolution brought new political interests, this book and the immensely popular *Nouvelle Héloïse* were the basis of a literary cult that was definitely nonpolitical. Significantly, no new editions of the *Contrat social* appeared between 1775 and 1790, the years of ferment when his appeals to the masses were supposedly having their effect.

All this was changed by the Revolution. The prophet did not make the Revolution; the Revolution created the prophet. The nonpolitical Rousseau was transformed in the public mind into the political Rousseau, and soon the revolutionaries were citing him as one of the principal founders of their Revolution. France owes her Revolution to Rousseau, wrote one pamphleteer,³ and another boldly (and rashly) asserted that in the seventeen articles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was contained all of the *Contrat social*.⁴

This adoption of Rousseau as one of the prophets and founders of the Revolution then taking place—as one of the revolutionary symbols we would say—was not accepted, however, without protest. If the author of the *Contrat social* was appealed to for authority in support of the acts of the Revolution, he was also quoted by the conservative opposition against the Revolution. These latter citations are the subject of this article.

During the first, moderate years of the Revolution, when the National Assembly was preparing a written constitution for France, and when freedom of the press prevailed, something of a debate was conducted in books, pamphlets, and newspapers; and in this discussion the pros and cons of the thesis of Rousseau's causal relationship to the Revolution were reviewed. Both revolutionaries and anti-revolutionaries looked for arguments in their favor, to be used not only in the press but from the rostrums of the political clubs and in the National Assembly. Surprisingly enough, the anti-revolutionary minority was particularly active in this respect, frequently appealing to Rousseau in their arguments. Sometimes they bluntly asserted that the ideas of Rousseau "struck at the foundations of the entire structure of the current constitution."⁵ At other times they relied on the authority of Rousseau to combat specific proposals of the revolutionists and buttressed their arguments with specific quotations from his writings.

In 1789, during the bitter debates on the expropriation of church property, the abbé Maury defended the privileges of his Estate by citing Rousseau.⁶

³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau *des Champs-Élysées à la nation française* (n.p., n.d.).

⁴ *Prosopopée de J.-J. Rousseau* . . . (Paris, 1791). The most carefully reasoned statement of this position was that by Louis Sébastien Mercier, *De J. J. Rousseau considéré comme l'un des premiers auteurs de la Révolution* (2 vols., Paris, 1791).

⁵ *Année littéraire*, No. 51, quoted in Casimir Alexandre Fusil, *La contagion sacrée; ou, Jean-Jacques Rousseau de 1778 à 1820* (Paris, 1932), p. 254.

⁶ *Moniteur* (Réimpression), No. 80 (Oct. 30, 1789), II, 112.

In an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Lettre de Jean-Jacques Rousseau à l'Assemblée Nationale*. No. 1, *Des Champs Elisées, l'an 5793* (i.e., 1789), another commentator took exception in the name of Rousseau to the abolition of the three orders, the apparent assumption of permanent power by the National Assembly, and the limitations being placed on the king's prerogatives.

A much more specific appeal to an anti-revolutionary Rousseau, and the first of several detailed pamphlets devoted to this subject, was made that same year by the comte Ferrand. He had taken a leading role in the demand that the Estates General be called, but by the end of 1789 was a determined opponent of all that had happened since that body had met. His pamphlet, entitled *Adresse d'un citoyen très-actif; ou, questions présentées aux Etats-Généraux du Manège, vulgairement appelés Assemblée nationale* (n.p. [1789]), had a clever theme, which was soon adopted by other conservatives. He proclaimed himself an admirer of Jean Jacques and recorded his pleasure in hearing Rousseau cited in the legislature. But when he read the *Contrat social* and the decrees of the Assembly together—text and commentary he called them—he was astonished, so he said, to see Rousseau and the decrees contradicting each other on every page. Should he throw the work of Rousseau or the legislative decrees into the fire? There follows a series of quotations from Rousseau, each accompanied by Ferrand's interpretation of the facts designed to place the Revolution in as poor a light as possible and to demonstrate conclusively, he hoped, that Rousseau would have staunchly opposed the acts of the revolutionary majority.

Ferrand's pamphlet set a pattern which became more and more easy to follow as the months rolled by and the clauses of the new constitution and the decrees of the National Assembly, adopted as they were in a thoroughly *ad hoc* spirit, continued to offer excellent forensic material for those conservatives who would take the trouble to contrast the legislative acts and the course of events with isolated phrases from the *Contrat social*, the *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne*, and Rousseau's other political writings. Quite logically, the year 1790 marked the high point of this sort of polemical writing, for it was during this year that some of the most important decisions of the moderate Revolution were made. Furthermore the conservative minority, decimated by emigration but at the same time bolstered by the adherence of some erstwhile moderate revolutionists, was still speaking and writing.

There were a number of pamphleteers during 1790 who appealed to the authority of Rousseau in denouncing specific acts of the Revolution. One

of the most interesting of these pamphleteers was the comte d'Antraigues, perhaps the best example of the conservative disciple of Rousseau. His career was paradoxical; so perhaps was his discipleship.⁷ In any case he quoted Rousseau in a number of his writings. In 1790, after he had emigrated, he wrote and published a pamphlet entitled *Quelle est la situation de l'Assemblée nationale?* (n.p., 1790). In this he announced that Rousseau had once given him a manuscript supplement to the *Contrat social* but that he had destroyed it in 1789 rather than have its ideas on federalism put to an antimonarchical use by those who exploited only the isolated and abstract *Contrat social*, as he called it, and ignored Rousseau's warnings against changing the *status quo*. D'Antraigues insisted that he remained a disciple of Jean Jacques, but as time passed, and particularly after he had fled the Revolution which had turned out so badly for him, he became more and more clearly a disciple of the conservative, anti-revolutionary Rousseau. The complexity of Rousseau's thought and its apparent paradoxes are nowhere better illustrated than in the career of this man who shifted from being a leader of the liberal nobility to leader of the emigration, while still citing and relying upon the authority of his friend Rousseau.⁸

The conservative press during this same year 1790 time and again cited and quoted Rousseau against the revolutionary majority in the National Assembly.⁹ But then in June of that year, Barère de Vieuzac, one of the leaders of the revolutionary party in the National Assembly, presented that body with a bust of Rousseau (an iconography of Jean Jacques had already appeared) and a copy of the *Contrat social*. These were given a place of honor in the Assembly's meeting place.¹⁰ Anti-revolutionaries were quick to seize upon this event, which to them, so they said, was incredible. La-Harpe's *Mercure de France* reported the event ironically, citing a number of presumed contradictions between the *Contract social* and the Revolution, and closing with what had by now become conservative doctrine: "If there

⁷ For details, see Léonce Pingaud, *Un agent secret sous la Révolution et l'Empire: Le comte d'Antraigues* (Paris, 1893); Alfred Cobban, *Rousseau and the Modern State* (London, 1934), pp. 255-61; and Charles Edwin Vaughan, ed., *The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau* (Cambridge, Eng., 1915), II, 135-36. References in this article to specific passages in Rousseau's writings which were cited by anti-revolutionary writers will be quoted from the Vaughan edition of the political writings.

⁸ Gustave Lanson, *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne* (Paris, 1925), III, 789, attributes the following, which I have not seen, to D'Antraigues: *Principes de droit politique mis en opposition avec ceux de J.-J. Rousseau sur le Contrat social* (Neuchâtel, 1794). See also Paul H. Beik, "The comte d'Antraigues and the Failure of French Conservatism in 1789," *American Historical Review*, LVI (1951), 767-87.

⁹ See for example *Ami du Roi* (Montjoie), No. 102 (Sept. 10, 1790), p. 420, quoted in Raymond Rockwood, "The Cult of Voltaire to 1791" (unpublished dissertation, University of Chicago, 1935), p. 130; *Actes des apôtres* (Peltier), II, No. 52 (1790), pp. 5-8.

¹⁰ *Moniteur* (Réimpression), No. 174 (June 23, 1790), IV, 691.

exists a work diametrically opposed to the principles of the French Constitution, it is certainly the *Contrat social*. If J.-J. Rousseau were to return to this world, he would be stunned by the homage that is paid to him."¹¹

The presentation of the bust and the *Contrat social* to the National Assembly also provided the occasion for the longest and most carefully reasoned statement of the conservative Rousseau thesis, in a pamphlet published anonymously but assumed to be by Charles François Lenormant, entitled *J.-J. Rousseau, aristocrate* (Paris, 1790). It begins with the author's reflections on the significance of the presence of the bust and the *Contrat social* in the Assembly, and the appropriateness of the bust's position on the right side of the hall with the conservative minority who justly invoked Rousseau, rather than on the side of the revolutionary majority who rejected his advice while citing his writings. The author's thesis was bluntly stated: Rousseau, far from being the author of the Revolution of 1789, would have been rather its adversary and scourge, and at the time of Lenormant's writing, would have been on the side of the aristocratic minority. This is a 109-page pamphlet, in which each point made was meticulously documented with references to the *Contrat social* and the other political writings, particularly the *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne*. The former was abstract; the latter was eminently practical, in the opinion of Lenormant, who considered that Rousseau was a complete theoretician in the one and a circumspect practitioner in the other. Using both of these works, the author was able to swing a two-edged sword against the Revolution with considerable effectiveness. The practical features of the new constitution were shown to be opposed to the impractical theory of the *Contrat social*, while the more practical writings, in which the influence of Montesquieu was strong, equally condemned the more abstract and idealistic aspects of the new system being established in France. Yet the author insisted that he was not a counter-revolutionary, that one could belong to the *aristocrate* party and still be a friend of the Revolution. Here is the voice of the conservative men of 1789, those who recognized the need for reform and approved of some of the changes being made, but by no means all, and who therefore found themselves in opposition to the majority by 1790. It was as a spokesman of this moderate conservative group which favored a strong constitutional monarchy that this pamphleteer wrote.

Lenormant had urged that the bust of Rousseau in the Assembly be destroyed. But before the year was out, several disciples of Jean Jacques were able to persuade the Assembly to decree, by a unanimous vote, that a

¹¹ *Mercure de France*, No. 27 (July 3, 1790), 32-33.

statue of Rousseau be erected, with the inscription: *La Nation française libre à J.-J. Rousseau*.¹²

For the revolutionary disciples of Rousseau, this was a splendid testimonial to their idol. For conservatives, however, it was an occasion to renew their argument that Rousseau would have opposed the Revolution. There were repercussions even among the *émigrés*, and d'Antraigues reappeared as the author of an article which was published in the *Ami du Roi*.¹³ Having left the Assembly and France, he wrote, for reasons which he found in Rousseau's writings, he was unable to reply to the insult to Jean Jacques' memory by the statue decree, but as a friend he felt obliged to avenge his name. He went on to ridicule the idea of a statue and the proposed inscription, and to threaten that some day men with pure hands would take vengeance against those who had been responsible for the deluge of crime and tyranny which had overwhelmed France.

A similar tone was adopted by another author, presumably an *émigré*, in a pamphlet entitled *Lettre de J.-J. Rousseau à un côté de l'Assemblée soi-disant Nationale* (Brussels, 1791). A familiar device of having Rousseau speak from the grave (or the Elysian Fields) was adopted, and thus Jean Jacques was able to announce that he had followed the course of events and the plots of the Assembly majority against humanity and against the essence of true monarchy. Since they, the revolutionists, had had the rashness to cite his name, he must now speak, although he wished that he might use his hand not to write but to avenge on their persons the travesty they had made of his principles.

Other conservatives were not as violent in their opinions but were equally insistent in maintaining their thesis of a conservative Rousseau, on one occasion grouping him with Voltaire and Montesquieu, all of whom were presented as condemning the Revolution. Rousseau would pass as an aristocrat; Voltaire and Montesquieu would be hung from lamp posts, wrote one editor.¹⁴ LaHarpe returned to the attack in the *Mercure de France*, and in his account of the Assembly's action he insisted that the remarks made by the author of the statue project showed that he had done practically no thinking about Rousseau's writings. His final comment was that it was quite a transition to go from Jean Jacques Rousseau to eighty citizens dragged in blood from a fortress in violence of all law, by those of their fellow citizens who did not share their opinions.¹⁵

¹² *Moniteur* (Réimpression), No. 357 (Dec. 23, 1790), VI, 696-97.

¹³ No. 246 (Jan. 31, 1791), 3-4.

¹⁴ *Les nouvelles lunes du Cousin Jacques*, No. 28 (July 4, 1791), pp. 13-15, quoted in Rockwood, p. 130.

¹⁵ *Mercure de France*, Jan. 1, 1791, part 2, p. 34.

In the early months of 1792, before the declaration of war against Austria, some conservatives in France continued to cite Rousseau against the revolutionists, and an anonymous pamphleteer returned to the arguments of 1790 and 1791 in a detailed work entitled *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue d'erreur par J.-J. Rousseau* (n.p., 1792). The author proceeded to prove his point in the familiar fashion, quoting Rousseau against specific measures, and he closed with an injunction to veil the statue of Jean Jacques, for if Rousseau were to reappear he would condemn what had been done and would repudiate the Revolution. Still another pamphleteer, perhaps the editor of the *Actes des apôtres*, writing from *émigré* headquarters at Coblenz, repeated the theme of Rousseau's absolute opposition to the acts of the Assembly.¹⁶ But this writer made it quite clear that if he was not an admirer of the Revolution neither was he an admirer of Rousseau—foreshadowing what was later to become the conservative, anti-revolutionary doctrine of opposition to both the Revolution and Rousseau.

By the end of 1791, however, the advocates of an anti-revolutionary Rousseau had lost the argument. The majority in the Assembly had drafted a constitution which they had said was Rousseauan, and they had put it into operation. Little if any attention had been paid to the carefully documented arguments of the conservatives. Perhaps their pamphlets and articles persuaded Sébastien Mercier to write his *De J. J. Rousseau considéré comme l'un des premiers auteurs de la Révolution*,¹⁷ but in it he paid scant attention to their contentions, and his basic thesis was that the principles of Rousseau, with some exceptions, had been put into practice. The *Contrat social*, he was sure, was the lever by which the National Assembly had pried loose and finally overthrown the colossus of despotism.¹⁸

Thus the debate between conservatives and revolutionaries, which had never really been a debate, came to an inconclusive end. The conservatives were silenced—or tried to continue the argument from the safety of neighboring states,¹⁹ and the revolutionaries, who had never been very much interested in debating anyway, faced pragmatically the governmental decisions ahead.

There remain to be analyzed the most significant and most frequently cited logical arguments—as distinguished from the rhetoric—which were

¹⁶ [Peltier?], *Le martyrologe ou l'histoire des martyrs de la Révolution* (Coblenz, 1792).

¹⁷ See n. 4 above.

¹⁸ Mercier, II, 308.

¹⁹ See for example Sénac de Meilhan, *Du gouvernement, des mœurs et des conditions en France avant la Révolution* (Hamburg, 1795), which insisted that it was not Rousseau and the philosophers who had precipitated the Revolution, but Necker; and *Examen des principes de la Révolution française* (Wolfenbüttel, 1795).

advanced by the conservatives in support of their thesis of an anti-revolutionary Rousseau. His authority was cited most often in condemnation of the violence of the Revolution and what was considered to be the folly of attempting to improve the government of France at the risk of causing greater evils than those which might or might not be cured. Conservative pamphleteers seized upon those passages in his writings in which he stated flatly his dislike of violent and ill-considered change. For example, Lenormant made effective use of the dedication of the *Discours sur l'inégalité* in which Rousseau, on the occasion of his first discussion of political theory, urged the citizenry of Geneva to beware of those who disturbed the *repos public*,²⁰ and stated that he would not have wished to live in a newly established republic, for:

*Les peuples une fois accoutumés à des maîtres ne sont plus en état de s'en passer. S'ils tentent de secouer le joug, ils s'éloignent d'autant plus de la liberté, que, prenant pour elle une licence effrénée qui lui est opposée, leurs révolutions les livrent presque toujours à des séducteurs qui ne font qu'aggraver leurs chaînes.*²¹

This quotation was used, quite understandably, by a number of other anti-revolutionary pamphleteers, including the author of *Qui est-ce donc qui gagne à la Révolution?* (n.p., n.d.), who put in italics the words *des séducteurs* and *aggraver leurs chaînes* in defending his thesis that the Revolution never would have taken place if Rousseau's advice had been followed.²² Several writers also quoted the sentence: "*On sait bien qu'il faut souffrir un mauvais Gouvernement, quand on l'a; la question serait d'en trouver un bon*"—although to do so they had to take it out of a context of opposition to hereditary monarchy.²³

A particularly useful source of conservative quotations was Rousseau's *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne*. Here the author of the *Contrat social* faced the problem of making practical, realistic recommendations for the reform of the Polish constitution and the Polish nation, then struggling with internal and external difficulties which were soon to bring its downfall in the famous partitions. In this work, Rousseau, very much aware of circumstances, was extremely careful to avoid rash advice which could only make a bad situation worse. Thus Lenormant was able to make extensive use of the *Considérations*, as already shown. According to him, if Rousseau had been a member of the National Assembly, he would have

²⁰ Lenormant, *J.-J. Rousseau, aristocrate*, pp. 75-76; Vaughan, ed., *Political Writings of Rousseau*, I, 131.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 127.

²² Pp. 17-18.

²³ *Contrat social*, bk. III, chap. vi, Vaughan, II, 81; Lenormant, p. 70; Ferrand, *Adresse d'un citoyen très-actif*, pp. 33-34.

mounted the rostrum and, in the words of the *Considérations*, urged his fellow representatives to move slowly and cautiously, in order to avoid the danger of worsening the situation in the hope of bettering it. "*Je ne dis pas qu'il faille laisser les choses dans l'état où elles sont,*" wrote Rousseau, "*mais je dis qu'il n'y faut toucher qu'avec une circonspection extrême.*"²⁴ Rousseau had also urged Polish patriots not to make radical changes in the method of representation as they might then come too close to the *tumulte démocratique*, and this also was cited by Lenormant.²⁵ D'Antraigues made a similar use of the same material,²⁶ and so did several other pamphleteers.²⁷

There could also be quoted Rousseau's closing advice to the citizens of Geneva, urging them to beware of turbulence and the internal troubles caused by clever mischief-makers. This came from the *Lettres de la Montagne*.²⁸ So did the famous quotation: "*Eh! dans la misère des choses humaines, quel bien vaut la peine d'être acheté du sang de nos frères? La liberté même est trop chère à ce prix.*"²⁹ This was perhaps the most popular Rousseauian quotation among conservative pamphleteers and they made the most of it, without in this case having to wrench it out of context as they did some others.³⁰ Several writers³¹ found a more specific reference to quote in Rousseau's *Jugement sur la Polysynodie*, in which he had criticized the proposals of the abbé de Saint-Pierre for a reorganization of the royal administration:

Qu'on juge du danger d'émouvoir une fois les masses énormes qui composent la monarchie française. Qui pourra retenir l'ébranlement donné, ou prévoir tous les effets qu'il peut produire? Quand tous les avantages du nouveau plan seraient incontestables, quel homme de sens oserait entreprendre d'abolir les vieilles coutumes, de changer les vieilles maximes, et de donner une autre forme à l'Etat que celle où l'a successivement amené une durée de treize cents ans? Que le Gouvernement actuel soit encore celui d'autrefois, ou que, durant tant de siècles il ait changé de nature insensiblement, il est également imprudent d'y toucher.

²⁴ *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne*, chap. I, Vaughan, II, 426; Lenormant, pp. 9-10.

²⁵ *Considérations sur . . . Pologne*, chap. VII, Vaughan, II, 456; Lenormant, p. 10.

²⁶ In *Ami du Roi* (see n. 13 above), p. 3.

²⁷ See for example [J.-M.-A. Servan], *Première lettre à M. Rabaud de St. Etienne sur la charité chrétienne* (Paris, 1790), p. 34; and *Lettre de J.-J. Rousseau à un côté de l'Assemblée soi-disant Nationale*, p. 10.

²⁸ *Lettre IX*, Vaughan, II, 283, 291; Lenormant, pp. 65, 76.

²⁹ *Lettre VIII*, Vaughan, II, 229. Compare the even more emphatic statement in *De l'économie politique* which he wrote for the *Encyclopédie*. Vaughan, I, 252-53.

³⁰ See for example Lenormant, p. 73; d'Antraigues, in *Ami du Roi*, p. 4; *Lettre de J.-J. Rousseau à un côté de l'Assemblée soi-disant Nationale*, p. 9; *Qui est-ce donc qui gagne à la Révolution?* p. 19.

³¹ See for example *Le dernier coup de la Ligue par l'auteur de nullité du despotisme et tableau de l'Assemblée nationale* (n.p., n.d.), p. 11; *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue d'erreur par J.-J. Rousseau*, pp. 54-55.

*Si c'est le même, il le faut respecter; s'il a dégénéré, c'est par la force du temps et des choses, et la sagesse humaine n'y peut rien.*³²

Hitherto sacred rights of property were under attack during the early years of the Revolution, and conservative writers derived some consolation from being able to cite several passages in which Rousseau had defended property rights as the most sacred of all.³³

A number of conservative pamphleteers seized on the discussion in the *Contrat social* of the necessary conditions for establishing a legitimate government. These were idealistic conditions, and Rousseau considered that only Corsica among the countries of Europe met them.³⁴ Conservatives also found what they considered to be unassailable evidence in the abstract theory of the *Contrat social* that Rousseau would have opposed the basic changes which the National Assembly was making in the French form of government. They chose to overlook his rather special definition of democracy as that government in which the executive as well as the legislative authority is exercised by the whole people, and they chose to argue that the new French constitution was a democratic one. Then they could seize upon Rousseau's statement: "*S'il y avait un peuple de Dieux, il se gouvernerait démocratiquement. Un gouvernement si parfait ne convient pas à des hommes.*"³⁵ That the people of France were not gods seemed obvious to these writers and they used their aristocratic sarcasm to good effect.³⁶ They might also cite another quotation, although in this there was a damaging qualification: "*A prendre le terme dans la rigueur de l'acception, il n'a jamais existé de véritable démocratie, et il n'en existera jamais.*"³⁷

In this same chapter, two paragraphs later, Rousseau had discussed democracy in less epigrammatic fashion, taking his lead from Montesquieu. Democracy, he wrote, required a small state, where the citizens knew each other, where there was simplicity of manners and a large measure of equality.³⁸ Here was another argument which was used against the Revolution.³⁹ More valid was the citation of Rousseau's statement that monarchy was the

³² Vaughan, I, 416.

³³ See for example *De l'économie politique*, Vaughan, I, 259; *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue* . . . , p. 52; Ferrand, p. 4.

³⁴ Bk. II, chap. x, Vaughan, II, 60-61; Lenormant, pp. 99-100; Ferrand, p. 19; *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue* . . . , pp. 14-16.

³⁵ *Contrat social*, bk. III, chap. iv, Vaughan, II, 74.

³⁶ Lenormant, p. 24; Ferrand, pp. 28-29; *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue* . . . , pp. 29-30; *Le dernier coup de la Ligue* . . . , p. 10.

³⁷ *Contrat social*, bk. III, chap. iv, Vaughan, II, 73; *Examen des principes* . . . , p. 24.

³⁸ Vaughan, II, 73.

³⁹ See for example Lenormant, pp. 24-25; *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue* . . . , pp. 29-30; M. G. N., *Catechisme anti-constitutionnel, ou sentiments de Solon, Sénèque, Tacite, Gordon, Sydney, Locke, J.-J. Rousseau, etc., sur ce qui s'est passé et se passera en 1789 et 1790* (n.p., 1790), p. 8; Ferrand, p. 27.

form of government appropriate to large states.⁴⁰ Still another quotation along these same lines which was used was Rousseau's assertion that it was a natural propensity for governments to degenerate from democracy to aristocracy to monarchy, and that the inverse was impossible.⁴¹

Shifting the argument from the term democracy to the concept of liberty, of which much was heard during the early years of the Revolution, conservative writers again found useful phrases in Rousseau.⁴² They quoted the quite reasonable and Montesquieuan sentence: "*La liberté n'étant pas un fruit de tous les climats, n'est pas à la portée de tous les peuples*," which begins the chapter entitled, "Que toute forme de gouvernement n'est pas propre à tout pays,"⁴³ and also a similar statement in the *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne*: "*La liberté est un aliment de bon suc mais de forte digestion; il faut des estomacs bien sains pour le supporter*."⁴⁴ Rousseau, of course, was speaking of Poland, but the observation was applied to France by conservative writers.⁴⁵

The authority of Rousseau was also frequently called upon to condemn the assumption of authority by the National Assembly. The transformation of the traditional Estates General into the National Assembly had been reluctantly accepted by the king early in the Revolution, but disputes continued until the end of the sessions in 1791 concerning its proper sphere of authority, and its encroachments upon both the legislative and executive power and on the sovereignty of the people. On each of these points, the conservatives, anxious to bolster the king's authority, could again cite Rousseau.

The National Assembly was drafting a constitution for France and therefore had assumed the role of legislator as defined by Rousseau. Turning to the *Contrat social*, the anti-revolutionary writers found Rousseau's idealistic discussion of the legislator quite suited to their purpose, particularly his inevitable epigrams. Thus they could quote with relish the phrase: "*Il faudrait des Dieux pour donner des lois aux hommes*,"⁴⁶ and point out how the existing Assembly fell far short of that ideal.⁴⁷ "*Celui qui rédige les lois n'a donc, ou ne doit avoir, aucun droit législatif*," wrote Rousseau several pages later,⁴⁸ and this also was used as an argument against the Assembly,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25; *Contrat social*, bk. III, chap. III, Vaughan, II, 72.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, chap. x, Vaughan, II, 88-89; *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue . . .*, p. 39.

⁴² See for example Ferrand, p. 34.

⁴³ *Contrat social*, bk. III, chap. VIII, Vaughan, II, 82.

⁴⁴ Chap. VI, Vaughan, II, 445.

⁴⁵ See for example *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue . . .*, p. 55.

⁴⁶ *Contrat social*, bk. II, chap. VII, Vaughan, II, 51.

⁴⁷ Ferrand, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁸ Vaughan, II, 53.

which was both drafting a constitution and legislating at the same time.⁴⁹

Additional conservative arguments were provided in Rousseau's discussion of the legislator. He had assigned a precise and restricted role to that individual or institution. The legislator (read legislature) exercises neither the rights of sovereignty, which belong to the people, nor the magistracy (read executive), which is concerned with executing the law and with particulars. Command over laws and over men must remain separate and distinct functions, Rousseau insisted, and the legislative power must not encroach upon the proper functions of the executive power.⁵⁰ Yet the situation in France was one in which the revolutionary majority in the legislature, suspicious of the king's intentions and conscious that they were making a historic break with the French tradition of absolute executive authority, constantly encroached on that crumbling authority. Lenormant emphasized Rousseau's injunctions on this subject, and applied them against the tendency of the Assembly to concern itself with the royal administration.⁵¹ On Rousseau's theory, Lally-Tollendal also based his argument for leaving the king in control of the actual administration of the finances, the army, and foreign affairs.⁵² The author of the carefully documented pamphlet, *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue d'erreur par J.-J. Rousseau* made the same point, and applied the idea of a tyrannical legislature to the National Assembly.⁵³ Ferrand had a similar criticism to make.⁵⁴ D'Antraigues in *L'Ami du Roi* (p. 3) also condemned the despotism of the National Assembly, but cited Rousseau's *Lettres de la Montagne* instead of the *Contrat social*.

Perhaps the most original features of Rousseau's political theory were his ideas on the general will and its function in the exercise of sovereignty. On this subject he was often quite abstract and idealistic, and as a consequence he provided more useful quotations to anti-revolutionary writers who were willing to overlook the fact that Rousseau was not writing on the level of practical politics. He had maintained that the sovereignty which resided in the whole body of citizens could not be alienated.⁵⁵ He had been even more emphatic, and epigrammatic, in claiming that sovereignty could not be represented, and that "*à l'instant qu'un peuple se donne des Représentants, il n'est plus libre; il n'est plus.*"⁵⁶ Conservative opponents of the course of

⁴⁹ *Les Actes des apôtres*, LII [1790], 6.

⁵⁰ *Contrat social*, bk. II, chap. vii, and bk. III, chap. iv, Vaughan, II, 52, 72.

⁵¹ Lenormant, pp. 41-44.

⁵² "Seconde lettre à mes commettants," quoted in Champion, *J.-J. Rousseau et la Révolution française*, p. 161.

⁵³ Pp. 22-24, 46-47.

⁵⁴ Ferrand, pp. 7-9, 12-14, 26.

⁵⁵ *Contrat social*, bk. II, chap. i, Vaughan, II, 40.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, bk. III, chap. xv, Vaughan, II, 96-98.

events in the National Assembly naturally made the most of this apparent condemnation of the assumption of sovereignty by that body.⁵⁷

Even if conservative spokesmen were to admit the possibility that the sovereign people had selected representatives to perform some of the acts of sovereignty, they might still fall back on other arguments also derived from the *Contrat social*. For Rousseau had insisted that there could be no general will on particular subjects, that it was by its very nature concerned with general matters.⁵⁸ Thus this could be cited against the constant practice of the National Assembly in legislating on all and sundry matters.⁵⁹ A further objection to the procedure of the Assembly was made concerning its simple majority vote rule. Rousseau's statement that the more important and weighty the issue, the more the opinion which is to prevail should approach unanimity,⁶⁰ was quoted against the provision in the new constitution which required only a majority vote for all decisions.⁶¹ Still another objection which was popular with conservative writers stemmed from Rousseau's insistence that the general will could not be delegated, and that, if deputies of the people were chosen, they were not representatives but only stewards and could conclude nothing definitively, since all laws required ratification by the people.⁶² Thus it could be argued that the acts of the National Assembly were null and void, and a number of the pamphleteers emphasized this argument.⁶³

One final point had a particular significance. Rousseau had argued that a large state should not have a capital, and this was of course cited during the early years of the Revolution against the revolutionaries who ever since the march to Versailles in October, 1789, had placed great reliance on the support of the Paris populace.⁶⁴ The subject came up again in the Paris Jacobin club on September 10, 1792, when the king had been deposed, and the organization of a new form of government in the midst of internal disorder and disastrous foreign war was the chief preoccupation. During the discussion of the new government that night, a member advocated a federal system for France and "*appuyé de l'autorité du divin Jean-Jacques,*"

⁵⁷ *Mercure de France*, No. 27 (July 3, 1790), pp. 32-33; *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue* . . . , pp. 43-45; Lenormant, p. 98; Ferrand, pp. 40-41; M. G. N., *Catechisme anti-constitutionnel*, p. 13.

⁵⁸ Bk. II, chap. iv, Vaughan, II, 44-45.

⁵⁹ See for example Ferrand, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁰ *Contrat social*, bk. IV, chap. II, Vaughan, II, 106.

⁶¹ Lenormant, p. 40.

⁶² *Contrat social*, bk. III, chap. xv, Vaughan, II, 96.

⁶³ Lenormant, p. 44; M. G. N., p. 14; Ferrand, pp. 39-40; *Mercure de France*, No. 27 (July 3, 1790), pp. 32-33.

⁶⁴ *Contrat social*, bk. III, chap. XIII, Vaughan, II, 94; Lenormant, pp. 57-58; *L'Assemblée nationale convaincue* . . . , p. 42.

based his argument on the "*vérités contenues dans Jean-Jacques*." But other members immediately rejected his authority. One of them noted that Rousseau had eulogized the monarchical system, and another pointed out that the aristocrats could also quote Rousseau to their own advantage. The debate was finally closed when a member asserted that one could quote Rousseau against Rousseau, that he had said that the only way to free an empire was to burn the capital. Did the members of the Paris Jacobin club want to burn Paris, was his rhetorical question.⁶⁵

Perhaps the most sensible remark during the debate that night was that made by one member to the effect that the club should rely more on its own information, and on the knowledge acquired during four years of revolution, than on the authority of any philosopher, no matter whom.⁶⁶ There, of course, was the authentic voice of the Revolution (or any revolution), speaking through the clouds of oratory and eulogies. Political theory was interesting and could be very useful in providing venerable authority for what was being done. But the authority of Rousseau, or of anybody else, should not be allowed to interfere with the pragmatic solution of the pressing problems which the new French nation faced. Rousseau could be and was honored as the prophet and founder of the Revolution. But the greater honor of putting very many of his theories into practice was something else again.

What may be said for the consistency of the conservative writers? If they had been the majority in 1790 and 1791, would they have been any more faithful disciples of the author of the *Contrat social*?⁶⁷ The answer seems obvious. They would have been no more willing than the revolutionaries to apply conscientiously the positive doctrines of Rousseau to the France of their day. There was too much that was truly revolutionary in his writings, even in many of the isolated phrases they chose to quote. The emphasis on his conservatism inherent in this article should not be allowed to obscure that essential fact. Probably only the caution and circumspection which he had enjoined would have been applied, and that would have been because of the essential nature of conservatism—so well demonstrated by Burke—and not because Rousseau had urged it. Those who quoted Rousseau against the Revolution were not objective students of political theory. They

⁶⁵ François Alphonse Aulard, ed., *La société des Jacobins: recueil de documents pour l'histoire du club des Jacobins de Paris* (6 vols., Paris, 1889-97), IV, 273-79.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁶⁷ It has been argued that if the counter-revolution had succeeded, a number of Rousseau's specific proposals would have been put into effect. See Cobban, *Rousseau and the Modern State*, p. 32. But one can make only wild guesses as to what would have happened in that event.

were wholehearted partisans on one side of an intensely bitter struggle, and they seized on those parts of Rousseau's writings which could be useful in the conflict; the rest of his writings they ignored. It was of course to their advantage to quote Rousseau against Rousseau as the Jacobin speaker said, to quote a supposedly revolutionary authority against the revolutionists. They had some logic on their side, of course, but they had no monopoly of it.

This account of the conservative Rousseauan literature in the early French Revolution has some significance for the history of Rousseau studies and the historiography of the French Revolution. For so complete was the victory of those who maintained that Rousseau was "one of the first founders of the Revolution" that further argument was fruitless, even from the safety of *émigré* centers abroad, and as the years rolled by and the Revolution continued in one form or another, the conservative opposition came to accept the revolutionary thesis and abandoned Jean Jacques to the victors.⁶⁸ By the time of the Restoration orthodox conservatives included Rousseau in their bitter indictment of the Revolution and all its works. "*C'est la faute à Rousseau.*" For those conservatives and royalists today who still feel the need to castigate the Revolution, Rousseau remains the embodiment of the baneful influence of eighteenth-century philosophy on the men of 1789. In this they are at one with the supporters of the revolutionary tradition who continue to maintain the official thesis of Rousseau as the prophet and founder of the Revolution. History produces many such ironies. Only in recent years have students of Rousseau reviewed the subject objectively. As a result, they seem to have returned to the argument of the conservatives of 1790 and 1791.

Perhaps the primary significance of the conservative literature here reviewed rests on the fact that it provides a useful case study on the subject of the sociology or theory of revolutions, and particularly on the role of intellectuals in revolutionary situations. Much has been written on this subject in recent years, and some very wise things have been said in "debunking" the presumed importance of the intellectuals and intellectual factors, which had been inevitably and unconsciously inflated by other intellectuals in a process which might be called taking in each other's intellectual laundry. Considerable emphasis has been given in recent years to the thesis that objective conditions and immediate circumstances are more

⁶⁸ Burke had taken this position, in quite extravagant terms, in 1791. See "Letter to a Member of the National Assembly" in *Reflections on the French Revolution*, Everyman's Library (London, 1910), pp. 262 ff. Ironically, Burke and Rousseau have a great deal in common, in spite of Burke's diatribe. See Cobban, pp. 229 ff.

significant as antecedent events in the revolutionary pattern than are current ideologies.⁶⁹

All this however is really not new. Mirabeau with his insight could see it at the time and wrote in 1790 that "*la nation a été préparée par le sentiment de ses maux et par les fautes de gouvernement à la Révolution, bien plus que par le progrès des lumières.*"⁷⁰ What still remains to be done for the French Revolution, and for other revolutions as well, I suspect, is to study carefully the relevant sources in an attempt to assess with some degree of accuracy the actual roles played by intellectuals and their writings in preparing each of these movements. It seems to me that it is insufficient to say, to quote a recent author, that "There is no more point in disputing whether Rousseau made the French Revolution or the French Revolution made Rousseau than in disputing whether egg or chicken came first. . . . We find that ideas are always a part of the pre-revolutionary situation, and we are quite content to let it go at that."⁷¹ But what ideas were in fact part of the situation? Lecky, in the course of a discussion of the conservatism of Rousseau and the irony of the revolutionary role assigned to him, pointed out that an author has no control over what part of his teaching will remain in and influence the minds of his readers.⁷² The Revolution engendered an essentially religious spirit, as de Tocqueville made clear a century ago, and a facility for proving anything and everything by sacred writ or its equivalent went along with it. Rousseau simply went the way of all prophets and founders of religions. Because of this, historians of ideas should exercise extreme caution in deciding either that what is currently assumed to have been an author's intention and doctrine was in fact what he meant to say, or that what he meant to say was in fact what his contemporaries or a later generation assumed he meant. The fate of the conservative, anti-revolutionary Rousseau during the French Revolution should make some contribution to that caution.

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⁶⁹ See for example *ibid.*, p. 31; Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York, 1942), p. 153; Franklin L. Baumer, "Intellectual History and Its Problems," *Journal of Modern History*, XXI (1949), 200-201; and Henri Peyre, "The Influence of Eighteenth Century Ideas on the French Revolution," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, X (1949), 87.

⁷⁰ 23^e Note pour la Cour, 7 septembre 1790, in *Correspondance entre le comte de Mirabeau et le comte de la Marck pendant les années 1789, 1790 et 1791* (Paris, 1851), II, 163, quoted in Champion, p. 4.

⁷¹ Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (New York, 1938), p. 63. A somewhat different point of view is expressed in his article, "Political Ideas in the Jacobin Clubs," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLIII (1928), 262, 264.

⁷² William E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1892-93), VI, 264.

The Background of Macaulay's Minute

ELMER H. CUTTS

THOMAS Babington Macaulay's "Minute on Education," written in 1835 for Lord William Bentinck, governor general of British India, was the decisive and final piece in a long series of propaganda articles written over a period of more than half a century in the formation of British educational policy in India.¹ Macaulay's standing in British intellectual and political circles made his advocacy of English-language education for Indian students enrolled in government-supported colleges and universities sufficient justification for Bentinck's adoption of that program immediately after Macaulay's treatise appeared in print. The Bentinck educational policy, which remained the essential educational policy of the British raj, called not only for the study of the English language by Indian students but required that instruction in all courses of study at the college level should be given through the medium of the English language. This meant that all Indian aspirants for college degrees must thoroughly learn a foreign language prior to embarking upon a career in higher education. In 1835, the erection of this rather formidable obstacle between aspiring Indian students and the pursuit of college study seemed right and proper, not only to Macaulay and Bentinck but also to the vast majority of Christian missionaries in India and evangelical leaders in England. Such Indian students as were able to surmount this obstacle of language and win a college degree received the further recognition implicit in the distinctive appellation of "learned native."

I

The fact that evangelical agitation and pressure for more than half a century before 1835 formed the basic background of Macaulay's minute and of Bentinck's action is the thesis of this article. Other pressures that developed stemmed chiefly from arguments originally presented by evangelical spokesmen. The utilitarian, James Mill, for instance, when voicing his opinion in the matter of instructing Indian students attending government-supported colleges in India, maintained that the primary objective in such

¹ Macaulay's "Minute on Education," Feb. 2, 1835, is published in Henry Sharp, *Selections from the Educational Records, Bureau of Education, India, I* (Calcutta, 1920). (Cited hereafter as "Sharp.")

instruction should always be "useful knowledge" as opposed to "Hindu knowledge." Less astute thinkers interpreted Mill's viewpoint to argue that "useful knowledge" was European knowledge. The best medium by which European knowledge might be imparted was a European language. Since India was under British rule, the obvious European language of instruction would be English. A letter attributed to Mill, dated in 1824, indicates that Mill himself did not specifically subscribe to English-language instruction as the educational medium. Mill merely stated the case for "useful knowledge."

With respect to the sciences, it is worse than useless to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in Oriental books. . . . The great end should *not* have been to teach Hindu learning but useful learning.²

Mill, in 1832, before a committee of the House of Commons, doubted the practicability as well as the desirability of converting India into an English-speaking country. He questioned the thesis of his day that a "community of language" would render Britain's Indian subjects more loyal to Britain and argued that "a community of language" had never "identified the Irish people with their governors."³

Macaulay also doubted that India could be transformed into an English-speaking country but insisted that the required use of the English language in all Indian higher education would inevitably promote Indian loyalty to British rule.

I feel . . . that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons *Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect*. To that class we may leave it to . . . convey knowledge to the great mass of the population.⁴

Although Macaulay had access to Mill's letter cited above since it was in the Calcutta files of the General Committee of Public Instruction of which Macaulay was president, it is unlikely that Mill's views on "useful knowledge" had more than incidental influence upon Macaulay's opinions expressed in his "Minute on Education." Mill was by no means original in applying the phrase "useful learning" to the controversy over British educational policy in India. However utilitarian the phrase might be, it had already been in

² Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Committee of Public Instruction of Bengal, 1824, in Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India* (Aligarh, 1895), p. 30. Italics mine.

³ House of Commons, *Sessional Papers, 1831-32, IX (735), Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*, p. 56, par. 402. (Cited hereafter as *Sessional Papers*.)

⁴ Sharp, p. 116. Italics mine.

current evangelical usage in regard to Indian education since at least 1793.⁵ At the same time, Macaulay used much stronger language in castigating traditional Hindu and Muslim learning than did Mill.

The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language [English], we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse, and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, *at the public expense*, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.⁶

Available evidence suggests the inference that evangelical pressure in behalf of the English-language educational program for India upon the officials of the East India Company, members of Parliament, and the British public was anterior to utilitarian pressure in behalf of the same program. The further inference seems tenable that such utilitarian pressure as developed was a derivative of earlier evangelical pressure.

Another pressure group whose arguments Bentinck used to defend his adoption of the English-language program also developed from the original evangelical source. This was the Hindu group of advocates of English-language instruction whose most influential spokesman was Ram Mohun Roy.⁷ In the second decade of the nineteenth century, wealthy Hindus began to make cash endowments for the foundation of schools and colleges in which the instruction would be in the English language and the courses of study drawn chiefly from the European curriculum. Many of these Hindu-supported English-language schools were founded as the direct result of Christian missionary emphasis upon English-language instruction. In 1818, a Hindu of means named Jai Narayana put £1,800 into the hands of Daniel Corrie, an evangelical chaplain of the East India Company, to found a school "to raise up his fellow countrymen from the deplorable state into which they

⁵ Charles Grant, "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals, and in the means of improving it," *Sessional Papers, 1812-13*, X (282), *Papers, etc., East India Company*, pt. iv. See letter prefixed to above papers, pp. 2-3, which states that Grant showed the above named disquisition to William Wilberforce and Henry Dundas in 1793 prior to the debate in the House of Commons with reference to the East India Company's charter of 1793. See also *Sessional Papers, 1831-32*, IX, p. 84, par. 704. Grant's "Observations" is published also in *Sessional Papers, 1831-32*, VIII (734), *Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, with Minutes of Evidence*, App. I.

⁶ Sharp, p. 110.

⁷ Ram Mohun Roy to Lord Amherst, in Charles Edward Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (London, 1838), pp. 65-71.

had fallen." Corrie took the money in trust for the Church Missionary Society and within four months had 116 boys studying English, Bengali, Persian, and Hindi.⁸ Jai Narayana later added 40,000 rupees, yielding an annual income of £300 to this school's endowment. Another wealthy Hindu, Raja Badrinath Rai, in 1825 donated 20,000 rupees to the Central Female School of the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education.⁹ Still another Hindu, in 1827, anonymously subscribed an annual sum of 400 rupees¹⁰ for the support of Bishop's College, founded in 1818 by the first bishop of Calcutta, the Reverend T. F. Middleton,¹¹ for the purpose of educating Christian youths, Indians or English, "to become preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters." Bishop's College would also give instruction in "English and useful knowledge," to Hindus and Muslims seeking secular employment.¹²

These examples of Hindu philanthropy in the interest of English-language instruction were valuable to Lord Bentinck in promoting his campaign to expend company money on English instead of Oriental education. The first educational institution in which Ram Mohun Roy interested himself was not as valuable an example for official citation, however. This was the Calcutta Vidyālaya, founded in 1817.¹³ Through Ram Mohun Roy's influence, several Bengali gentlemen subscribed 113,179 rupees (£11,318) to form a permanent endowment. Roy then secured accreditation for the new college through one of his British friends, Sir Hyde East, the chief justice. The new college, like Ram Mohun Roy's better-known enterprise, the Society of Brahma, was eminently a compromise. Its founders advertised the purpose of the college to be "the tuition of the sons of *respectable Hindoos in the English and Indian languages*, and in the literature and science of *Europe and Asia*" (italics mine). In 1824, the Vidyālaya secured government assistance and received the advice and encouragement of the noted Sanskritist, H. H. Wilson, who was named "visitor." Presently, through the study of a curriculum based upon the Newtonian enlightenment of the eighteenth century, the Vidyālaya became the home of a new Hindu rationalism which scoffed equally at Hindu *dharma* and at Christian dogma. In 1830, a deputation of Hindu parents lodged a protest against one of the college's more outspoken liberal professors.¹⁴ In 1833 evangelical Christians experienced shock

⁸ Church Missionary Society (London), *Nineteenth Report, 1818-19*, pp. 137-45.

⁹ *Missionary Register*, 1823, p. 43; 1826, pp. 301-48.

¹⁰ *Episcopal Watchman*, II (March, 1828), 16.

¹¹ See below, pp. 846-47.

¹² *Missionary Register*, 1820, pp. 216, 217, 529-32; 1821, pp. 47-48.

¹³ Fisher's Memoir, *Sessional Papers, 1831-32*, IX, App. I, p. 410.

¹⁴ Testimony of the Rev. Alexander Duff, June 3, 1853, House of Lords, *Sessional Papers, 1852-53*, XXXII (20-28), p. 50, par. 6099.

in their turn when the Vidyālaya student body bought up a sizable shipment of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* and *Age of Reason*. Paine's books apparently were shipped from Boston to a Unitarian missionary named William Adam and constituted a commercial enterprise on his part.¹⁵ The purchase of the books by Vidyālaya students should have suggested to Bentinck, Macaulay, and the missionaries the possibility that English-language instruction might lead Indians to read books other than the Bible and tracts of "useful knowledge."

Ram Mohun Roy did much more to promote English-language instruction in India than help to endow the Calcutta Vidyālaya. In 1823, he sent a long memorial to Lord Amherst attacking the policy of the General Committee of Public Instruction. Under the leadership of H. H. Wilson, that committee had founded a Sanskrit College in Calcutta in 1823. Roy called for the establishment of a college devoted to European learning instead of a Sanskrit college. He questioned the usefulness of Sanskrit studies. He argued that the lakh of rupees devoted to education of Indians which Parliament had written into the East India Company's charter in 1813¹⁶ should "be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences that have raised them above the inhabitants of the rest of the world."¹⁷

Lord Amherst took negative action on Roy's proposal, but it is conceivable that Macaulay drew from Roy's letter when he wrote: "What we spend on the Arabic and Sanscrit Colleges is not merely a dead loss to the cause of truth. It is bounty money paid to raise up champions of error."¹⁸ Like Mill, Ram Mohun Roy appeared in 1831 before a parliamentary committee in England studying the renewal of the company's charter. While giving testimony on the question of free European emigration to India, Roy expressed the opinion that English emigration should be unrestricted since English settlers in India "from motives of benevolence, public spirit, and fellow feeling toward their native neighbours, would establish schools and other seminaries of education for the cultivation of the English language throughout the country, and for the diffusion of a knowledge of European arts and sciences."¹⁹

¹⁵ *Missionary Register*, 1834, p. 183.

¹⁶ East India Company Charter Act of 1813, Act 53 George III, c. 155, sections 42, 43, 49-54, *Statutes at Large*, V, 368-70.

¹⁷ C. E. Trevelyan, p. 66.

¹⁸ Sharp, p. 114.

¹⁹ Testimony of Ram Mohun Roy, *Sessional Papers*, 1831-32, VIII, App. V, p. 341.

II

Lord William Bentinck, however, needed no prompting from Europeanized Hindus or British utilitarians in inaugurating his English-language educational policy in 1835. As governor of Madras in 1806, Bentinck had approved a plan for free English schools in the Madras presidency, presented to him by a missionary named Kerr of the London Missionary Society.²⁰ Bentinck's recall from India in the same year, after the outbreak of the Vellore Mutiny,²¹ prevented this plan's operation. His recall evidently made no change in the man since in military service in Sicily against Napoleon, Bentinck remained "a man of a violent and haughty nature, imbued with English prejudice and regarding the English constitution as the salvation of the human race,"²² according to Sicilian commentators. Under such circumstances, when he received his appointment as governor general in 1828, one could expect Bentinck to resume on an India-wide scale the career that the Vellore Mutiny had cut short in the Madras presidency. Regardless of the advice of experienced company servants, he flouted Hindu prejudice and abolished *sati* (suttee), and made English instead of Persian the official language of the government of Bengal. As an economy measure he hired more Indians at low salaries and less Englishmen at high salaries to operate the Indian civil service.²³ These two policies combined made English-language instruction virtually mandatory in government-supported institutions of higher learning. More Indians must know English. Otherwise, either Bentinck's economy measures or his English-language policy must fail. Bentinck's very administrative policies obviously predisposed him to accept Macaulay's argument.

Macaulay's personal interest in India seems to date from his election in 1830 to Parliament on the Whig ticket. He regularly took the trouble to attend the debates and vote on the East India Company's charter of 1833.²⁴ He wrote indignantly that,

A broken head at Coldbath Fields excites more debate in this House than three pitched battles in India. . . . When my right honourable friend, Mr. Charles Grant,²⁵ brought forward his important propositions for the future government

²⁰ Rev. C. S. John, "Indian Civilization: Being a Report of a Successful Experiment during Two Years on That Subject in Fifteen Tamil and Five English Native Schools," *Missionary Register*, I (1813), 378.

²¹ Vincent A. Smith, *Oxford History of India* (2d ed., Oxford, 1928), p. 610.

²² Bentinck, *Dictionary of National Biography*.

²³ *Sessional Papers, 1831-32*, IX, p. 109, par. 941.

²⁴ Acts 3 and 4 William IV, c. 85, 1833, *Statutes at Large*, XIII, 432-47.

²⁵ Son of Charles Grant, Sr., author of the "Observations," etc. See n. 5 above.

of India, there were not as many members present as generally attend upon an ordinary turnpike bill.²⁶

The actual number present, when the East India Company charter passed its third reading on July 29, 1833, was only 130.²⁷

Since Macaulay had taken the trouble to attend the Indian charter debates from 1831 to 1833, it is probable that he was acquainted with the testimony collected by the committee of the House pursuant to writing the bill. The overwhelming majority of the witnesses argued that the British curriculum taught in the English language was vital to the reduction in the cost of governing India, to the elevation of Indian moral and intellectual standards, to the safety of British rule, and to the successful propagation of Christianity in India.²⁸ Only James Mill and the Abbé Dubois, a French Roman Catholic missionary of many years' experience in India, doubted this majority conviction. Mill's testimony has been mentioned. Dubois flatly stated that in his belief India could never be converted to Christianity either by teaching Indians English or by any other means.²⁹ Parliament, nevertheless, duly wrote the majority viewpoint into law, so that the charter, as passed, indorsed Bentinck's economy policy by opening the way in theory for any Indian to hold any office in the government of British India. Other provisions raised the bishop of Calcutta to the rank of metropolitan of India and gave the governor general discretionary power to allocate government funds to Protestant sects for educating the Indian people and for conducting public worship in India.³⁰ A further clause created the new office of law commissioner in the government of Bengal.

Macaulay's appointment as first law commissioner and member of the supreme council of Bengal sent him to India, where he disembarked at Madras in June, 1834. From Madras, he proceeded to the Nilgiri Hills, where Bentinck was sojourning at the time and with whom he wished to consult prior to entering council politics in Calcutta. Macaulay's sister, Hannah More Macaulay, who had sailed with her brother from England to meet her fiancé, Charles E. Trevelyan, a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction, proceeded directly to Calcutta. Trevelyan was one of the strongest advocates of the English-language education program and supporter of Bentinck in a divided committee. In December, 1834, he became Macaulay's

²⁶ Henry Beveridge, *A Comprehensive History of India* (3 vols., London, 1862), Book VII, p. 235.

²⁷ *Hansard's Debates*, 3d Series, XX, 14-50. The bill passed its third reading with 20 noes against it.

²⁸ *Sessional Papers*, 1831-32, IX, pp. 60-226, 230-60.

²⁹ Abbé Jean Antoine Dubois, *Letters on the State of Christianity in India in Which the Conversion of the Hindus Is Considered Impracticable* (London, 1823), pp. 1-2 and *passim*.

³⁰ *Hansard*, 3d Ser., XX, 50. These provisions passed with only eight noes against them.

brother-in-law, on which occasion Macaulay enthusiastically wrote, "I can truly say that if I had to search India for a husband for her, I could have found no man to whom I could with equal confidence have intrusted her happiness."³¹ It is obvious that Macaulay's personal relationships with Trevelyan, had there been no other factors involved, predisposed the noted historian toward using his influence to promote the program of his new brother-in-law. Bentinck's appointment of Macaulay to be president of the General Committee of Public Instruction is indication of the governor general's satisfaction with Macaulay's educational views as discussed between the two men in the Nilgiri Hills, and Macaulay's appointment, of course, strengthened the hand of the English-language section of the committee, which, prior to 1835, had been dominated by advocates of a classical Indian curriculum for Indians. As Macaulay put it:

What then shall that language be? One-half of the committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be—which language is best worth knowing. I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic. . . .³²

III

This was the immediate background and these were the environmental factors which surrounded Macaulay when he wrote his "Minute on Education." Yet another passage from that document will take us back to an environmental factor which not only helped to mold Macaulay's whole personality but which had done much to create the intellectual and emotional quality of the generation of Englishmen of which Macaulay was one of the notable members: "It is confessed that a language is barren of *useful knowledge*. *We are to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion.*"³³ This single reference to "false religion" reflects Macaulay's family, school, and even political associations during the first thirty-five years of his life. He was reared in Clapham, one of the two strongest Anglican evangelical centers in England. His father, Zachary Macaulay, was a close associate of William Wilberforce and Charles Grant, both noted evangelicals and residents of Clapham. Young Macaulay continued this association and looked upon Charles Grant, Jr., as one of his closest friends in Parliament. At Trinity College, Cambridge, where he matriculated in 1818, Macaulay moved away from evangelicalism toward utilitarianism and presently, after completing his studies,

³¹ Macaulay to Mrs. Cropper, Calcutta, Dec. 7, 1834, in George Otto Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (New York, 1876), I, 339.

³² Sharp, p. 109.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 115. Italics mine.

through his articles, published in the *Edinburgh Review*, he became known to the world as a champion of Whiggism. Even though he maintained this position in the House of Commons, where he supported the Reform Bill of 1832, Macaulay's closest associates there were his friends Charles and Robert Grant, who had introduced and fought for the evangelical clauses contained in the East India Company's charter of 1833. Macaulay had given these friends his support in this effort.

The Grant family and Macaulay's association with it not only help to explain Macaulay's reference to "false religion" in his minute but are basic as well to an understanding of the origin of the entire quarrel over British educational policy in India which came to a head in 1835. From 1780 to 1835, the British government in India had followed the educational policy inaugurated by Warren Hastings. Hastings maintained that the East India Company's government ought to do as much or more than pre-British Muslim governments had done to encourage the learned classes of Hindu and Muslim society along the lines of Eastern scholarship. He also believed that such educational efforts would result in greater efficiency and economy in British administration and promote Indian loyalty to British rule in India.³⁴ The Court of Directors had originally appointed Hastings governor of Bengal in 1772 with specific orders to eliminate the corruption existing in the British government of Bengal since its inception in 1757. To implement these orders Hastings regarded legal reform as supremely important. Education was important to the success of legal reform. British law was obviously totally foreign to both Hindus and Muslims, since neither community had the background for understanding a bill of rights based on natural law, or the concept of equality before the law. The people of India must be governed through their own Hindu and Muslim codes. To make this possible, Hastings patronized, first from his own private purse and then from company funds, numerous Hindu pandits and Muslim maulvies to work with Europeans who, for a sufficient salary, might be willing to devote their lives to the study of Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit. An aspect of this program was the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. Halhed, Wilkins, Hamilton, and especially Sir William Jones were among the early English Sanskritists in the society patronized by Warren Hastings.³⁵ Halhed's translation of the *Code of Gentoo Laws*, by which Hastings might govern Britain's Hindu subjects was one of the society's earliest publications. The withdrawal of government patronage of Oriental studies early in the nine-

³⁴ Warren Hastings to the Court of Directors, "On the Ganges," Feb. 21, 1784, in George Robert Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings* (London, 1841), III, 159.

³⁵ *Asiatick Researches*, I (1788), iv-viii.

teenth century enabled German and French scholars to overtake British scholars in Sanskrit studies, though H. H. Wilson and H. T. Prinsep, both members of the General Committee of Public Instruction, were outstanding English Sanskritists who continued in the 1820's and 1830's to advocate Oriental education for Indians.

Macaulay's minute, as a matter of fact, represented the final and successful attack upon the Hastings educational policy. Macaulay affected the utmost surprise that anyone should be paid for studying, or, after they had completed their studies, that they should expect any remunerative employment by which they might put their specialized learning to work. Bentinck's action in making English the official language of the British government of India had removed, all at once, the positions which graduates of government-supported Hindu and Muslim institutions might have expected to fill. These graduates, supported by Prinsep, petitioned Bentinck to do something about their plight. Macaulay's minute was their answer.

It would be bad enough to consult their [Indian] intellectual taste at the expense of their intellectual health. But we are consulting neither. We are withholding from them the learning which is palatable to them. We are forcing on them the mock learning which they nauseate.

This is proved by the fact that we are *forced to pay* our Arabic and Sanscrit students while those who learn English are willing to pay us. . . . Why then is it necessary to pay people to learn Sanscrit or Arabic? Evidently because it is universally felt that the Sanscrit and Arabic are languages the knowledge of which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them. On all subjects the *state of the market* is the decisive test.³⁶

Then, after having proved to his own satisfaction the worthlessness of Sanskrit and Arabic study, Macaulay reviewed the petition for employment from the graduates of the government-supported Sanskrit and Arabic colleges, concluding with these unsympathetic remarks:

These are surely the first petitioners who ever demanded compensation for having been educated *gratis*, for having been supported by the public for 12 years, and then sent forth into the world well furnished with literature and science. . . . Surely we might with advantage have saved the cost of making these persons useless and miserable.³⁷

The claim that the net result of the whole Hastings plan of Indian education resulted only in making Indians "useless and miserable" had been put into writing in 1793, seven years before Macaulay's birth, by Charles Grant, Sr., friend and neighbor of Macaulay's father. Grant, in fact, had been the mainspring of the drive for English-language education for India from its

³⁶ Sharp, p. 112. Italics mine.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 113. Italics mine.

inception in the 1780's to the time of his death in 1823. Grant had made a considerable fortune in India, like many another impecunious young man who took service with the East India Company. In only four years' time, from 1767 when, at the age of twenty-two, he sailed for India, to 1771, when he returned to England, he was able to amass enough money to pay off all his debts, settle dowries of £300 on each of three sisters, woo and marry an English girl, and sail back to India in 1772.³⁸ Meanwhile, the reformer, Warren Hastings, became governor of Bengal. Hastings' regulations had curtailed the "easy money" opportunities for company servants, somewhat to Grant's disgust. Grant presently became an enemy of all Hastings' ideas and policies, particularly his educational policy.

Grant's hostility to the British Oriental education program grew in direct ratio to Grant's conversion from a free-spending, heavy-drinking Nabob gambler into a pious, church-attending Anglican evangelical. Grant's gambling had run him heavily into debt. In the midst of his financial worries, death in quick succession claimed Grant's brother John, an uncle in Scotland, and Grant's two infant daughters. All this occurred in 1775. Grant found initial solace in associating with certain English and Danish missionaries located in the Dutch possession of Chinsura, near Calcutta. The East India Company's law banning active missionary work in British India could not touch missionaries who managed to locate either in Chinsura or the neighboring Danish settlement of Serampore. By 1780, Grant had become so thorough a convert that he wanted to try his own hand at some evangelical work. To escape official notice, he secured a lonely post as commercial resident in Malda, a silk center on the Bengal-Assam frontier where, for seven years, he promoted a Christian mission. During his Malda experiment, which brought him no converts but made his financial fortune, Grant not only convinced himself that Hinduism was a most "monstrous" evil, but that schools were the primary tools by which this "evil" might be eradicated. In 1775, Grant offered to assist the Danish missionary, Christian F. Swartz, working in Tanjore, to establish schools,³⁹ but for some unrecorded reason, the project fell through.

It was soon after this failure that Grant advanced from the belief that education was necessary to eradicate the "evil" from India, to the position that this education must be in the English language. With this in mind, after securing a post of distinction in 1787 from Lord Cornwallis as fourth member of the Board of Trade, Grant persistently wrote letters to prominent

³⁸ Henry Morris, *Life of Charles Grant* (London, 1904), pp. 11, 22-32.

³⁹ Grant to Swartz, Malda, November, 1785, *ibid.*, p. 98.

clerical and lay evangelicals calling their attention to the urgency of his project.⁴⁰ Aside from gracious replies received from a few of his correspondents and suitable contacts made for future campaigns, Grant's only tangible success in this venture was the subscription by the East India Company of 250 pagodas annually to the support of three English schools in Tanjore under the direction of the Reverend C. F. Swartz.⁴¹ Grant did receive the satisfaction of hearing that the Court of Directors agreed that teaching the natives English would "reconcile them to a foreign dominion like ours,"⁴² but nothing more came of it. In India, however, Grant was able to convince the Reverend David Brown, an army chaplain, and William Chambers, the brother of Sir Robert Chambers, the chief justice, that English education would cure the "evils" of Hinduism. The three men made a practical beginning in this program in the schools of Chinsura which Grant had saved from the money lenders by advancing £10,000 of his own money to pay off debts. Then, with Brown and Chambers, he served as trustee to maintain the schools in behalf of the S.P.C.K. and to see to it that they taught reading, arithmetic, and Christianity to Bengali, Armenian, Portuguese, and English boys through the medium of the English language.⁴³ Grant's enthusiasm mounted with news received in 1788 from the S.P.C.K. stating that the East India Company planned to establish English-language schools in each of the chief cities under the company's jurisdiction.⁴⁴

IV

Grant entered upon the second phase of his agitation for English education for India when he returned to England in 1790, upon the expiration of his term of office in the Calcutta Board of Trade. For the next twenty-three years, to 1813, he worked to open India to free missionary activity. He selected Clapham as his place of residence and soon won over his evangelical neighbors, Simeon, the Venns, the Thorntons, and William Wilberforce, as allies. Then, with these neighbors to assist him, Grant moved to carry the fight to Parliament to rescind the company's anti-missionary regulations and overthrow the Hastings educational policy. To this end, Grant prepared his primary literary work, entitled "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁴¹ Dispatch of the Court of Directors, Feb. 16, 1778, in Sharp, p. 4.

⁴² Morris, p. 112.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 94; W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the S.P.C.K.* (London, 1898), p. 276; "The First Missionary to Bengal," *Calcutta Review*, VII (1847), 175, 153.

⁴⁴ Morris, p. 122.

and on the Means of Improving It," a document never published for general reading, which remained, prior to Macaulay's minute, the foremost disquisition upon the virtues of English-language education for the Indian people. The "Observations" was published in full text among the parliamentary papers relating to both the East India Company charters of 1813 and 1833,⁴⁵ and since Macaulay took an interest in the Charter of 1833, and since this document was written by the father of Macaulay's "honoured friend in Parliament," it is reasonable to suppose that Macaulay read it.

Like most eighteenth-century middle-class Englishmen, Grant was a thorough environmentalist. Change the environment and you change the man. Indian environment was all bad because it was based on Hinduism, a "false religion." Hindu laws set up no absolute standard of right and wrong. In twentieth-century parlance, Hindu law as well as Hindu society was relativistic. Hence, Hindus were the most depraved people in the world. They were completely selfish, servile, brutal, and unpatriotic. Hindu marriage customs robbed Hindus of all paternal, maternal, connubial, and filial love. Women were everywhere degraded. Prostitution was honored. All Hindus were unabashed liars.⁴⁶ In his zeal for the cause, it is fairly clear that Grant himself transgressed the literal truth in his "Observations," unless Sir Thomas Munro, a highly placed East India Company official, was also an "unabashed liar," since Munro testified in 1812 before a committee of the House of Commons that:

If . . . the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other; and above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people, then the Hindoos are not inferior to the natives of Europe. . . .

It would be no slight praise to the women of any nation, *not even to the ladies of England*, to have it said, that the correctness of their conduct was not inferior to that of the Brahmin women and the Hindoo women of the higher castes.⁴⁷

Grant, on the other hand, inquired and asseverated, "Are we forever to preserve all the enormities of the Hindu system? . . . The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light." Teach the Hindus and their faults will be eradicated. "There are two ways of making this contribution, *the one is by the medium of the languages of these countries, and the other is by our own.*" The company, said Grant, had made a great mistake in "submitting to employ the unknown jargon of a conquered people."⁴⁸ Out of self-respect, the company should immediately establish in India "*places of*

⁴⁵ See n. 5 above.

⁴⁶ *Sessional Papers, 1812-13*, X, pt. iv, pp. 27-30.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, VII (122), pp. 131, 169. Italics mine.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, X, 76, 78. Italics mine.

gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English," and make India into an English-speaking, and English-loving, country. English-language instruction in the study of Newtonian science would presently eradicate the gross superstitions of Hinduism. Into the religious vacuum thus created, it would be easy to insert Christianity, since Indians, having learned English, would automatically read the Bible. Hindus, who under Hinduism suffered from social conditions incomparably inferior to the social conditions of the "worst parts of Europe,"⁴⁹ would begin to enjoy the social conditions of the best part of Europe, namely, England, notwithstanding its pauperized masses, corrupt politics of the rotten borough, grisly code of penal laws, borough tyrants and seat sellers, slave trade, and child labor.

Armed with ammunition contained in his "Observations" and with the help of William Wilberforce, Grant made his first assault on Parliament as the debates on the East India Company charter of 1793 got under way. Evangelical fervor had not deeply penetrated the English ruling classes on the eve of England's war with the French Revolution, which explains the term "pious clauses" which greeted Grant's proposals. "The promotion of the *interest and happiness* of the natives of British India by empowering the Court of Directors to send out, from time to time, a sufficient number of fit and proper persons, to act as *schoolmasters*, missionaries, or otherwise . . ."⁵⁰ survived only two readings. Evangelical reports maintained that the East India Company's Court of Proprietors lobbied against these educational and religious clauses to save salary costs for extra chaplains, and to save military expenses that would result from insurrections that might arise from missionary tampering with Hinduism and Mohammedanism.⁵¹

The loss of the "pious clauses" in 1793 delayed their enactment for the next twenty years, but in those two decades world events worked in Grant's favor. The Charter of 1793 coincided in point of time with the entire British war effort against the French Revolution and its principles and against Napoleon. The fear engendered by almost twenty continuous years of war when England's empire, if not her existence, often seemed to hang in the balance, had brought a mild evangelical conversion to England's upper and middle classes. Instead of only one "saint" in Parliament, William Wilberforce, there was in 1813 a sizable bloc of "saints," including both Charles Grant and his son, Charles Junior.⁵² The senior Grant sat for the Scottish

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, X, 29-30.

⁵⁰ John William Kaye, *Christianity in India* (London, 1859), pp. 518-19. Italics mine.

⁵¹ John Clark Marshman, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward* (London, 1859), I, 49.

⁵² Morris, p. 330.

pocket borough of Inverness-shire, where, in 1802, he won his first election with fifteen votes as against eleven for his nearest opponent.⁵³ The growth of evangelical sentiment in English upper and middle classes further disposed this section of the population to favor evangelical and humanitarian legislation. The successful fight to abolish the slave trade in 1806-1807 had united evangelical forces for future political battles. The conversion of the upper and middle classes had also stimulated the rise and growth of numerous missionary societies whose aspirations to spread the Gospel in India could not be realized in the face of the East India Company's regulation prohibiting active missionary work in that part of the British Empire. Increasing membership in these societies could be relied upon to bring pressure to bear upon Parliament, if it became clear that pressure on Parliament could remove the anti-missionary regulation.

Grant, himself, had been influential in founding in 1799 the Anglican Society for Missions to Africa and the East, known later as the Church Missionary Society,⁵⁴ and the first school set up in India by the society followed Grant's English-language plan. Daniel Corrie, an evangelical chaplain of the company whose appointment to his chaplaincy had been upon Grant's recommendation in 1806,⁵⁵ organized this school in 1813 in Agra. In that year, Corrie wrote, "Set our native school in order by appointing *six of the head boys to learn English on the new British plan.*"⁵⁶ The "new British plan" was the inexpensive Bell-Lancastrian system of education on a monitor basis by which the instructor taught the lesson to the brighter boys and these in turn taught the same lesson to the rest of the class. The Reverend Andrew Bell got his original inspiration for this plan from watching the educational methods used in Hindu village schools.⁵⁷ He then imported the plan into England where Joseph Lancaster improved upon it. The English missionary societies then brought the system back to India, proclaiming it to be the "new *British plan.*"⁵⁸ Corrie's school grew to thirty-five students in August, 1813, and to eighty-one by February, 1814, but then suddenly declined to twenty-eight pupils in January, 1815. The reason for this rise and drop in attendance, however, had little to do with the type of instruction given to the boys. The reason was entirely economic. Corrie wrote: "The children who are instructed in the city are chiefly the children of poor starving people

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 191; Church Missionary Society, 13th Anniversary Report, *Proceedings*, 1812, p. iii.

⁵⁵ Morris, p. 220.

⁵⁶ *Missionary Register*, II, 190. Italics mine.

⁵⁷ Robert Southey, *Life of the Reverend Andrew Bell* (London, 1844), I, 173-77.

⁵⁸ *Missionary Register*, II (1814), 190.

who live by beggary. To prevent this necessity on the part of the children, one rupee a month is allowed to each for food.”⁵⁹ The free monthly rupee attracted a crowd, but, when Corrie shut off the supply, his student body dropped by two thirds. Apparently it was as necessary to pay Indians to study English as it was to pay them to study Sanskrit or Arabic, regardless of Macaulay's testimony. In 1817, the Church Missionary Society was operating at least sixty-six one-room schools enrolling 2,346 boys and 21 girls. Each school averaged about forty boys and all schools used Grant's English-language program, but the magnitude of the enterprise now demanded a central plan of education. The Burdwan plan, drafted in 1818 for the society by Lieutenant Steward,⁶⁰ a company servant, contemplated fifteen grades of instruction beginning with Bell's sand table for writing and erasing letters and figures in the sand and ending with purely English-language instruction. In the first ten grades, the Indian children learned how to read and write the Roman alphabet and how to make syllables. In the eleventh grade they worked up from syllables to words and short easy sentences. In the twelfth grade they learned to memorize and write down “select moral sentences.” In the last three grades they read from printed books published by the Calcutta School Book Society,⁶¹ such as *A Compendious History of England; Selections from the Beauties of History; and Scientific Dialogues*. In 1819, following the Burdwan model, the Church Missionary Society issued a “General Plan for Indian Schools,”⁶² and in 1823, Mr. Perowne, the missionary in charge of the Burdwan schools, expressed the hope in words almost identical with those used later by Macaulay in his minute, that the schools would soon accomplish their purpose which was “to form a body of well instructed labourers, *competent by their proficiency in English to act as Teachers, Translators, and Compilers of useful works for the masses of the people.*”⁶³ The educational program of the Church Missionary Society thus conformed with Grant's ideas. Other large missionary societies, like the Baptist Missionary Society founded in 1792, and the London Missionary Society founded in 1795, also stressed the use of English in educating Indians, though the Baptists were more inclined than the others toward translating the Bible into the native languages.

Until 1813, however, the company's regulation prohibiting missionary work in British India still stood. Only the Baptists had dared to disregard

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 233; III (1815), 64; Church Missionary Society, 14th Report, *Proceedings*, 1812–1815, p. 297.

⁶⁰ Church Missionary Society, *Report, 1818–1819*, App. IX, pp. 263–67.

⁶¹ Fisher's Memoir, *Sessional Papers, 1831–32*, IX, App. I, p. 405.

⁶² *Missionary Register*, 1819, p. 116.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1824, p. 233. Italics mine.

the ban and had sent William Carey and John Thomas to India in 1792.⁶⁴ These men, with help from some of Grant's friends in India, precariously operated a mission and a school for five years on the Bengal-Assam boundary line, but the replacement of the evangelical John Shore with Wellesley as governor general made the Baptists run to cover to the small Danish settlement of Serampore. There Carey with his newly arrived colleagues, Marshman and Ward, founded a school of translations, built their own printing press, and in the first decades of the nineteenth century began printing Baptist tracts, then single Gospels, then the entire New Testament, and finally the entire Bible in Sanskrit, Bengali, Marathi, Oriya, Hindustani, Gujarati, Panjabi, Telegu, Burmese, Persian, and even Chinese.⁶⁵ Yet seclusion in Serampore, just beyond the reach of company deportation authorities, was obviously not a satisfactory situation to either the missionaries concerned or to the membership in the numerous local chapters of the Baptist Missionary Society scattered over England. Grant and Wilberforce could obviously expect such local chapters representing all the new missionary societies to exert pressure upon Parliament to force "pious clauses" into the Charter of 1813.

The war against France, which promoted the growth of evangelical sentiment in England and stimulated missionary societies, made Grant's work doubly effective. Over and above his organization of the Church Missionary Society and his success in winning seats in the House of Commons for himself and his son, Grant, in 1794, had "stood for" director of the East India Company. Lacking opposition, he was unanimously elected,⁶⁶ and after spending three years in drumming up support, Grant formally presented to the court his document, the "Observations."⁶⁷ This placed Grant and his Indian views on record within the governing body of the East India Company. Also, as director, Grant could nominate men for posts in the Court of Directors and in the general service of the East India Company. As director, Grant could also minimize the opposition of the company's government to a new set of "pious clauses" designed for the Charter of 1813. If very fortunate, Grant might even convert the court into a body of men actively favoring Christian missionary work and an English educational policy for India. Grant also used his position in the directorate to nominate earnest evangelical young men as company chaplains, thus strengthening

⁶⁴ *Periodical Accounts relative to a Society Formed among the Particular Baptists for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen*, I (1800), 7-8, 13-35.

⁶⁵ Elmer H. Cutts, "Chinese Studies in Bengal," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXII (1942), 171-74.

⁶⁶ *The Royal Kalendar; or, Complete and Correct Annual Register for England*, 1795, p. 226.

⁶⁷ *Sessional Papers, 1812-13*, X, pt. iv, pp. 2-3. Date of presentation was Aug. 16, 1797.

the hand of the Reverend David Brown, the chaplain with whom Grant had worked to save the Chinsura schools. Grant's first important nomination was that of the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, a protégé of Isaac Milner, John Newton, and Henry Thornton, three leading English evangelicals. Buchanan sailed for India in 1797, and with Brown at once launched upon a vigorous career as a blue-law reformer by influencing John Shore, the retiring governor general, to prohibit Sunday horse-racing and to order church attendance at 6 A.M. every Sunday for all Christian officers and enlisted men in the company's armed services. This order so disrupted army morale in India that a British order-in-council revoked it, but Grant at once forwarded a new set of "moral regulations" which Shore obligingly adopted.⁶⁸

A little earlier than this, in 1796, Grant interested his Clapham neighbors, Wilberforce, Simeon, Venn, Thornton, and Babington, in a mission plan for India. On December 23, 1796, Wilberforce took breakfast with Henry Dundas, president of the Board of Control, the government agency which supervised East India Company affairs, and presented the mission plan to him. Again at dinner the same day Wilberforce, Dundas, Grant, and some others met to talk over the mission plan, and again, on December 26, Grant and Babington sat in with Wilberforce and Dundas to discuss the same topic.⁶⁹ By February of 1797, Wilberforce felt sufficient progress had been made so that he could enter the statement in his diary that there was:

considerable probability of our being permitted to send to the East Indies a certain number of persons, I presume we shall want ten or twelve, for the purpose of *instructing the natives in the English language*, and in the principles of Christianity. . . . When I return to town, we shall hold a council on the business. Henry Thornton, Grant, and myself are the *junto*.⁷⁰

Despite these preparations, Grant's plan failed to win a hearing in Parliament and at the same time an effort to replace Shore with another evangelical named Eliot failed when Sir Arthur Wellesley won the post.⁷¹

Chaplains Brown and Buchanan, however, were able to turn the Wellesley appointment to good account by persuading the new governor general to establish the College of Fort William in Calcutta for the instruction of newly arrived East India Company servants in Indian languages and Christianity. Wellesley appointed Brown as provost and Buchanan as vice-provost of the new college. In these capacities, the two chaplains organized a depart-

⁶⁸ Hugh Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Reverend Claudius Buchanan* (Oxford, 1817), pp. 101-102, 127.

⁶⁹ Diary of William Wilberforce, in Robert Isaac and Samuel Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce* (5 vols., London, 1838), II, 186.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 192-93. Italics mine.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II, 186.

ment of translations and invited the Reverend William Carey, the Baptist missionary, to come out from his confinement in Serampore to superintend the new department. By 1805, the College of Fort William press was printing hundreds of copies of the Gospels of the New Testament in Marathi, Oriya, Bengali, Western Malay, and more languages for distribution to the people of India and beyond. Brown also created the *Bibliotheca Biblica*, a repository for Bibles in all languages, and Buchanan published an order in 1804 that the topic at the "Annual Disputations" would be "the advantage which the natives of this country might derive from the translations in the vernacular tongues of books containing the principles of their respective religions and those of the Christian faith."⁷² The fact that Grant was chairman of the Court of Directors in 1804 no doubt helped to stimulate this evangelical activity in India, but the publication of Buchanan's order brought such a strong protest from "old civil servants" and Muslim and Hindu gentlemen of Calcutta that Wellesley forbade the topic.⁷³ This program in Bengal along with the Vellore Mutiny of 1806 brought on by Bentinck's encouragement of evangelical work in the Madras presidency prompted Wellesley's successor, Minto, to dismiss Brown and Buchanan from the staff of the College of Fort William and terminate the evangelical work of the college. A brief storm of criticism of the evangelical aspects of Wellesley's administration developed in England during the brief interval of liberal expression that accompanied Fox's Ministry of All the Talents. Even so, Grant was still able to secure appointment of three more evangelical chaplains to continue to spearhead the evangelical drive in India pending the time that missionary activity might be legalized. The careers of two of these three men, Corrie and Thomason, became important to Grant's educational plans beginning in 1813 as previously described.

V

The post-Vellore Mutiny publications, which amounted to a chorus of "I told you so's" from retired East India Company civil servants, represented virtually the last important opposition to missionary activity in India seen in England until the era of Mrs. Annie Besant and George Bernard Shaw. The principal protagonist for missionary work in India in the war of words lasting from 1808 to 1813 was Claudius Buchanan. His antagonists included two retired East India Company civil servants, Thomas Twining and J. Scott-Waring, as well as the editorial board of the *Edinburgh Review*. Buchanan,

⁷² Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches* (1811), p. 239.

⁷³ Buchanan to Major Sandys, February, 1804, in Pearson, pp. 213-14.

after losing his position with the College of Fort William, had addressed a highly vituperative memorial to Lord Minto in which Buchanan condemned the elimination of the Bible translation department from the college as well as Minto's action in driving the Baptist missionaries out of Calcutta for the second time to the sanctuary of Serampore. Buchanan then escaped court-martial for disrespectful conduct toward a superior officer by sailing for England where, backed by Grant and his Claphamite associates, he went on a speaking tour before the local chapters of the missionary societies to reveal to members the more horrifying aspects of Hindu civilization and the obstinacy with which the British government in India blocked every Christian effort to improve Indian conditions. Buchanan published the substance of these speeches in his *Christian Researches* of 1811.

The pamphlets, articles, and editorials of Twining, Scott-Waring, and the *Edinburgh Review* formed the rebuttal to Buchanan's speeches.⁷⁴ India, these men pointed out, was an exception to the general rule of non-Christian countries. The people of India were passionately religious. Christian missionary work in India always resulted in riots and bloodshed. The Vellore Mutiny was the supreme example. This being so, why should Christian missionaries be allowed to make British rule in India unsafe? Also, argued the *Edinburgh Review*-ers, was it really desirable that India be converted when none but semi-insane fanatics of every "crack-pot" Christian sect ever went to India?

Who wishes to see scrofula and atheism cured by a single sermon in Bengal? Who wishes to see the religious hoy riding at anchor in the Hooghly river? or shoals of jumpers [Welsh sect] exhibiting their nimble piety before the learned Brahmins of Benares? This madness is disgusting and dangerous enough at home. Why are we to send out little detachments of maniacs to spread over the far regions of the world the most unjust and contemptible opinion of the Gospel? The wise and rational part of the Christian ministry find enough to do at home to combat with passions unfavourable to human happiness.⁷⁵

Buchanan answered this "Northern Blast" from Edinburgh in 1811 with his *Christian Researches* on the eve of the parliamentary hearings pursuant to the issuance of a new charter to the East India Company in 1813. The four-year controversy concerning missions had helped Grant, Buchanan, Shore, and Wilberforce to focus the attention of the missionary society mem-

⁷⁴ Twining's "Letter on the Danger of Interfering in the Religious Opinions of the Natives of India" was not available to me. A highly critical review of the "Letter" appeared in the *Christian Observer*, VI, 819-25. J. Scott-Waring, "Observations on the Present State of the East India Company," *Edinburgh Review*, XII (1808), reviewed in *Christian Observer*, VII, 45-69. A Bengal Officer, *Vindication of the Hindoos from the Aspersions of Claudius Buchanan*, reviewed in *Christian Observer*, VII, 104-30. *Edinburgh Review*, XII, 151-81, article criticized in *Christian Observer*, VII, 396-407.

⁷⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, XII, 179.

bership upon the specific legislation into which they again intended to insert clauses legalizing missionary and education work in India. The "saints," who had just won the fight to abolish the slave trade, had agreed that Grant's program for India, reduced to a three-point attack upon Indian civilization, should form their next legislative effort. The three points stated that: (1) India must be opened to Christian missionaries; (2) India must receive an ecclesiastical establishment of the Church of England; and (3) the East India Company must provide an educational program to improve the moral status of the natives. Early in 1812, Buchanan, Grant, Babington, Shore (Teignmouth), Zachary Macaulay, and Wilberforce presented these points to Lord Perceval, the Prime Minister. Perceval's assassination a few days later forced the "saints" to repeat their maneuver with Perceval's successor, Lord Liverpool, who surprised them by offering them "A seminary in each Presidency in India for instructing the natives for the ministry; . . . licenses for missionaries . . . from the Board of Control . . . and . . . Bishops for India."⁷⁶ Then, having secured the Prime Minister, the "saints" opened the assault upon the House of Commons. Between May 20 and June 12, 1812, the missionary societies poured a total of 760 petitions from boroughs and shires in every part of England, Scotland, and even Ireland into Parliament.⁷⁷ On June 22, Lord Castlereagh introduced a resolution stating that it was Great Britain's duty to promote the happiness of the natives of India, to introduce "useful knowledge" among them, and to offer legal facilities to persons desiring to go there to promote these objects.⁷⁸ Wilberforce made the principal speech. Drawing chiefly from Grant's "Observations" and Buchanan's *Christian Researches*, Wilberforce eloquently described the unhappy conditions under which Hindus lived in their present unregenerate state and the happiness in store for them when, after Castlereagh's resolution became law, they would be able to acquire authentic learning and a knowledge of "true religion." The House of Commons quickly passed this resolution by a large majority. The Lords concurred unanimously. The committee hearings and floor debates in both houses over the educational clauses repeatedly brought Grant's "Observations" to the attention of members of Parliament. These committee hearings opened the active phase of the argument between the proponents of English-language and the proponents of Indian-language education for government-supported colleges in India. Grant, Z. Macaulay, Wilberforce, and the rest of the "saints" urged the use

⁷⁶ Pearson, p. 464.

⁷⁷ A sample petition will be found in *Panoplist*, IX (1813), 189-90. This was submitted by the London Missionary Society.

⁷⁸ *Hansard*, 3d Ser., XXVI, 827 f.; *Christian Observer*, XII (May, 1813), 407.

of English, while Sir Thomas Munro, future governor of the Madras presidency and close associate of Warren Hastings in the establishment of the *rayatwarri* system of land tenure in that presidency, laid the foundation in argument upon which the Orientalists later built.

Our books alone will do little or nothing. Dry simple literature will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect, it must open the road to wealth, and honour, and public employment. Without the prospect of such a reward, no attainment in science will ever raise the character of a people.

This is true of every nation as well as India. It is true of our own. Let Britain be subjugated by a foreign power tomorrow, let the people be excluded from all share in the government, from public honours, from every office of high trust or emolument, and let them in every situation be considered as unworthy of trust, and all their knowledge and all their literature, *sacred and profane*, would not save them from becoming in another generation or two, a low minded, deceitful, and dishonest race.⁷⁹

Munro's argument was broader than the immediate language controversy that later developed, but, following Munro, the Orientalists always argued that polical liberty, economic independence, and pride in their own cultural background were the primary essentials necessary to the enhancement of Indian happiness. No amount of Western literature or Christianity could possibly promote this objective.

VI

The inclusion of the missionary and church provisions in the East India Company charter as finally passed undoubtedly pleased Grant and his colleagues immensely, but Grant soon discovered that his fight for a government-supported English-language educational program was far from won. The charter provided that the governor general might direct that one lakh of rupees be set aside from surplus company funds, "and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India. . . ."⁸⁰ The charter remained wholly indefinite concerning the kind of education or the language in which such education as the governor general at his discretion might stipulate for India. This vagueness in the charter act of 1813 made Macaulay's minute necessary twenty-two years later, in 1835, even though the original promoters of this educational provision, namely, Grant, Shore, Babington, Z. Macaulay, and Wilberforce, intended that this education should be a combination of Western science and Christianity and that the

⁷⁹ *Sessional Papers, 1831-32*, XI (735), App. 105, p. 467.

⁸⁰ Charter Act of 1813, Act 53 Geo. III, c. 155, sec. 43, *Statutes at Large*, V, 368.

medium of instruction should be the English language. Yet Lords Moira and Amherst, who ruled British India from 1813 to 1828, when Bentinck became governor general, did not so interpret the educational clause in the charter, thus necessitating twenty more years of propaganda for English education in India. For two years Grant impatiently waited for Lord Moira, Minto's successor, to implement the educational provisions of the charter. Since Moira failed to act, Grant used his influence in the Court of Directors to get that body to attempt to force compliance. Moira, who was preoccupied with his Gurkha and Maratha wars, simply replied to the court's order that in his opinion the native Indian colleges were useless and ought to be allowed to die a natural death. He thought the missionaries might supply village schools with "little manuals containing religious sentiments and moral maxims,"⁸¹ study of which would accustom Indian children to think like Christians and thus lead to their easy conversion. Moira in 1815 also authorized his council to appropriate £600 a year for the support of the London Missionary Society's schools in Chinsura provided the curriculum in these schools should not include the direct propagation of Christianity. By 1818, there were thirty-six Chinsura schools enrolling 3000 Indian boys, but even though the language of instruction was English, the Chinsura schools were not colleges.⁸² Moira apparently never thought of establishing colleges for Indians in which the Western curriculum would be taught in the English language. Except for the Chinsura experiment and the continuance of existing programs, Moira did nothing for Indian education until 1821, when, at the request and recommendation of H. H. Wilson, a member of the Benares Patshalla Committee appointed in 1819, he established a large Sanskrit College in Calcutta and appointed Wilson, as well as W. B. Martin, W. E. Bayley, and J. C. C. Sutherland to be the committee of superintendence.⁸³ Except in 1814, Moira devoted no more money to Indian education than his predecessors had done.⁸⁴

Moira's expenditure of company money upon Sanskrit instead of English studies naturally infuriated the evangelicals in England as well as the rapidly growing communities of "legal" missionaries in India. Grant, despairing of the governor general, turned to Thomas Fanshaw Middleton,

⁸¹ Sharp, pp. 24-29.

⁸² Fisher's Memoir, *Sessional Papers*, 1831-32, IX, App. I, pp. 403 ff.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 406. For Ram Mohun Roy's opposition to the Sanskrit College, see p. 828 above.

⁸⁴ "An account of all sums that have been applied to the purpose of educating the natives of India, from the year 1813 to the latest period to which the same can be made out; distinguishing the amount in each year," by James C. Melvill, Auditor India Accounts, East India House, Mar. 13, 1832, *Sessional Papers*, 1831-32, IX, I Public, App. I, p. 483. During the three years (1824-26) after Moira, £92,715 was spent as against £70,893 for the eleven preceding years (1813-1823).

the first bishop of Calcutta, to further his program. Middleton, who had been educated for the ministry at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and who had risen to the archdeaconship of Huntingdon in 1812,⁸⁵ secured his appointment as first bishop of Calcutta through Bishop Tomline of Lincoln, a personal friend. He arrived in Calcutta on November 28, 1814. The bishop had not been in India two months before he received a long letter from Grant on the history of Protestant missions in India and on the merits of English-language education for Indians.⁸⁶ The bishop's official comment reflected Grant's views: "Education comprehends a great deal; more especially if we can induce the natives to learn English. *In learning and reading English, they will inevitably learn to think*; and when the power of thinking is pretty generally diffused, the cause will be gained."⁸⁷ Later in the same year, Middleton preached a sermon in which he announced that God had not "conferred empire upon nations merely to gratify their avarice or their ambition."⁸⁸ Such justification of British imperialism became a favorite missionary theme in India. In 1820, Pearson, the superintendent of the Chinsura schools, called for universal British rule over the Asiatic and African world through the adoption of English-language education for the natives of both continents: "The English language might accompany the extension of the English government, and be rendered universal in the same short time, throughout the millions that people the banks of the Ganges, the Canadiens, Hottentots, Negroes etc."⁸⁹

A letter that Grant wrote in 1817 to the bishop urging action in implementing an English education policy surpassed both Middleton and Pearson in its expression of evangelical imperialism. Grant believed the bishop should be as an army general leading his Christian soldiers onward into battle. "It would, as it seems to me, have been of the highest importance if the nation and the National Church had paid an early attention to the moral state of the many millions of *benighted heathens placed by the dispensation of divine Providence under British rule, particularly in British India*."⁹⁰

Again Middleton did not reply to Grant, but in 1818 he announced his plan for the foundation of Bishop's College where "*English and useful knowledge would be taught to Hindus and Muhammadans*" and where Christian youths, Indian or European, might be educated to become "preach-

⁸⁵ Rev. William Trollope, *A History of the Royal Foundation of Christ's Hospital* (London, 1834), pp. 263, 267.

⁸⁶ Grant to Middleton, Jan. 9, 1815, in Morris, p. 335.

⁸⁷ *Bishop Middleton, Bishop Heber, S.P.C.K. Committee of General Literature and Education, "Lives of Missionaries,"* 3d Series, p. 23. Italics mine.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁸⁹ *Missionary Register*, 1821, p. 53.

⁹⁰ Grant to Middleton, London, August, 1817, in Morris, p. 336.

ers, catechists, and schoolmasters."⁹¹ In 1820, Middleton began building the college, but died in 1822 prior to the project's completion. Grant died the next year at the age of seventy-eight, shortly after he expressed his pleasure in learning of the appointment of the Reverend Reginald Heber, an avowed evangelical, as second bishop of Calcutta. Daniel Corrie, one of Grant's earlier evangelical nominees for the Indian chaplaincy, who administered the diocese of Calcutta prior to Heber's arrival in India, vigorously pushed Bishop's College to completion, and in 1824 Hindu and Muslim students enrolled in this institution to study European subjects in the English language.⁹²

Heber began the administration of his diocese in 1823, the year in which Lord Amherst became governor general. Both men inherited educational policies adopted by interim incumbents in their respective offices. John Adam, who had been interim governor general⁹³ between Moira's departure and Amherst's arrival, organized the General Committee of Public Instruction of Bengal for the purpose of implementing the educational clauses contained in the charter act of 1813. Adam had appointed Horace Hayman Wilson, a known Sanskritist and champion of the Oriental educational policy, to be secretary of this committee. The committee's president, J. H. Harington, was a charter member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and one who, in 1814, had published an article advocating the government's continued support of Hindu and Mohammedan schools. In the course of time, he thought, some European science and literature might be engrafted upon these schools. He admitted that English might be taught to Indians as an elective foreign language but that the basic languages of instruction should be those nearest the languages commonly spoken in India.⁹⁴ Of the remaining eight members of the committee, seven more were avowed Orientalists and only one, Holt Mackenzie, showed a mild tendency to favor English-language instruction in government-supported institutions.⁹⁵

Amherst, upon his arrival in India, ratified Adam's policy. When he ignored Ram Mohun Roy's letter urging the government to establish an English rather than a Sanskrit college in Calcutta, this action brought on the hue and cry among the evangelicals, Europeanized Hindu intellectuals, and even the relatively irreligious utilitarians like James Mill against the

⁹¹ M. A. Sherring, *History of Protestant Missions in India from 1706 to 1871* (London, 1875), p. 82. Italics mine.

⁹² Amelia S. Heber, *Life of Reginald Heber* (New York, 1830), II, 97-113, 162, 200.

⁹³ Held office Jan. 13 to Aug. 1, 1823. *India Office List*, 1902, p. 115.

⁹⁴ James Long, ed., *Adam's Reports on the Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar* (Calcutta, 1868), p. 310.

⁹⁵ Sharp, p. 60.

new Committee of Public Instruction that immediately preceded Macaulay's arrival in India. Bishop Heber soon put himself at the head of these anti-administration forces. Within nineteen days of his arrival in Calcutta, he began inspecting missionary schools in Bengal hoping to promote more English-language education and greater use of the Bell-Lancaster monitor system of education. His pleasure at what he found is reflected in letters addressed at this time to friends in England:

They [the people of Calcutta] send their children on Bell's system; and they seem to be fully sensible of the advantages conferred by writing, arithmetic, and *above all by a knowledge of English.*⁹⁶

The wealthy natives now affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. They drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. *Many of them speak English fluently and are tolerably read in English literature;* and the children of one of our friends I saw one day dressed in jackets and trousers with round hats, shoes, and stockings.⁹⁷

I am sure they [the Hindus] ought to be encouraged and assisted as far as possible in the disposition which they now evince, in this part of the country at least, *to acquire a knowledge of our language and laws,* and to imitate our habits and example.⁹⁸

With these inspections completed, Heber turned to the larger project of a complete Episcopal visitation of his entire diocese. The diocese included all India, Ceylon, Burma, and Indonesia. Heber chose June, a monsoon month, as the time to commence his visitation. Less than two years later, on April 3, 1826, while he was still vigorously attempting to complete this initial diocesan visit, the bishop died, literally from exhaustion. Heber's epitaph, still plainly readable at St. John's Church in Trichinopoly, reads, "Be ye also ready." Heber's journal, read by thousands of subscribers to English missionary journals, included approving pats on the back for schoolmasters who used English and the Bell system, as well as sharp criticism for those who taught in their own way. Evangelical imperialism reached its highest point in Heber's sermons as reported. At Secrole, on September 5, 1824, he preached: "My brethren, it has pleased the Almighty that the nation to which we ourselves belong is a great, a valiant and an understanding nation; *it has pleased Him to give us an empire on which the sun never sets.*"⁹⁹ On December 12, at Cawnpore, he castigated an unfortunate schoolmaster who was not using the Bell system and delegated Corrie to remain behind the main party to teach the unhappy man how to

⁹⁶ Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-25* (3 vols., 1828), III, 244. Italics mine.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 252. Italics mine.

⁹⁸ *Bishop Middleton*, p. 157. Italics mine.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 205. Italics mine.

teach,¹⁰⁰ but he reserved his most scathing criticisms for the government-supported Sanskrit colleges at Benares and Calcutta. The government, he said, was most generous in supporting these useless seminaries in which students wasted their time on science that knew nothing of Galileo, Copernicus, or Bacon, and on literature which amounted to nothing but "endless refinements of its Grammar, Prosody, and Poetry," and on geography which enumerated six earths and seven seas supported on the back of a huge tortoise (compare Macaulay's "seas of treacle and seas of butter"). Heber demanded to know why the government did not support and pay for an educational program for Hindus which would teach them "*English grammar, Hume's History of England*, the use of globes, and the principal facts and Moral Precepts of the Gospel," instead of "a laborious study of Sanskrit, and all the *useless and worse than useless literature of their ancestors*."¹⁰¹

After Heber's death, Corrie, until December, 1829, again did the business of the diocese. Bishop James reached India in 1828 but died within a few weeks of his arrival, and another year passed before Bishop Turner reached Calcutta. Turner, who died in 1831 after less than two years of service, was yet able to co-ordinate existing mission schools in Calcutta and add some new units to provide for the "educational wants of infancy, childhood, youth, and opening manhood."¹⁰² As a result, Calcutta by 1831 boasted an infant school, a free school, a high school, and Bishop's College for the Christian community, European and Indian.¹⁰³ Turner fully agreed with Heber and Corrie that it was "monstrous" of the Indian government to spend no part of its educational lakh upon its native Christian subjects in India.¹⁰⁴ After Turner's death, the alarming mortality in bishops of Calcutta ceased with the appointment of the Reverend Daniel Wilson to that office, since Wilson served as bishop until 1833 and then as metropolitan until 1858. Bishop Wilson was a milder reformer than his predecessors, but his ordination sermon of January 6, 1833, followed the usual evangelical argument on Indian education:

The Native Press and Schools for Literary Education are beginning to diffuse general knowledge, and to lay the foundation for a historical and geographical truth: for they are doubtless awakening a spirit of inquiry, and if this secular knowledge be conjoined with fixed moral and religious principles, the Native

¹⁰⁰ R. Heber, II, 37-38.

¹⁰¹ *Missionary Register*, 1827, p. 378. Italics mine.

¹⁰² Eyre Chatterton, *A History of the Church of England in India since the Early Days of the East India Company* (London, 1924), pp. 150-54.

¹⁰³ *Missionary Register*, 1832, pp. 202-203.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80. The government did support the Chinsura and other schools in which native Christians might enroll, but gave no support to Bishop's College.

Mind will soon be prepared for receiving evidence aright, and listen with humility to the proofs of Christianity.¹⁰⁵

VII

Meanwhile, back in 1828, the evangelical party scored a great victory with the appointment of Lord William Bentinck to succeed Lord Amherst. Bentinck had already, as governor of Madras, proved himself capable of interfering with Hindu religious customs even if it might mean mutiny. The new appointment left only the General Committee of Public Instruction with its predominately pro-Orientalist membership as the obstacle between the Anglicizing evangelicals and their goal. Since the governor general appointed new members to this important committee, and since it was obvious that Bentinck would appoint none but those who favored the English program, it was only a matter of time before this obstacle also might be removed. In the interval between 1828 and 1835, when Macaulay wrote his minute, Bentinck had been able to appoint five pro-English members to the committee—Messrs. Bird, Bushby, Colvin, Saunders, and Trevelyan. The old members were Messrs. Shakespear, MacNaughten, Sutherland, J. Prinsep, and H. T. Prinsep, all favoring the Orientalist program. Macaulay's appointment as the eleventh member of this committee in the capacity of president thus gave him the casting vote. Yet Bentinck was still not willing to risk the possible conversion of the new member by the persuasive leader of the Orientalist bloc, H. T. Prinsep, a man who with fortitude had steadfastly held his colleagues to the Hastings educational policy since the origin of the committee in 1823 in the face of virtually perpetual attack from all the forces of evangelicalism including the bishop of Calcutta. Accordingly, even prior to the Macaulay appointment, Bentinck commissioned Prinsep to three years' duty in Tasmania. No sooner was Prinsep safely on the boat than the committee passed a resolution, in 1832, requiring that all students, to be eligible for scholarship aid in the Calcutta Madrasa, a Muslim school supported by the government since the time of Warren Hastings, must indicate their intention of studying English as well as Arabic.¹⁰⁶

In 1833, while Prinsep was still in Tasmania, Bentinck issued an order making English the official language of communication between the people of India and the government and between the native states and the government.¹⁰⁷ Macaulay's appointment as president of the committee also occurred

¹⁰⁵ *Missionary Register*, 1833, p. 445.

¹⁰⁶ Diary of H. T. Prinsep, in Sharp, p. 133; and minute of H. T. Prinsep, July 9, 1834, *ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁰⁷ *Sessional Papers*, 1831-32, IX, p. 109, par. 941; p. 131, par. 1226; p. 84, par. 703-704.

in Prinsep's absence, but, despite these odds against him, Prinsep, upon his return to India, again rallied behind him what forces he had left and presented a vigorous as well as a learned statement of the Orientalist position in his minute, dated July 9, 1834. On the basis of this minute, the committee then divided equally and announced itself unable to advise the governor general and council upon the future educational policy of India, except by briefly presenting the viewpoints of both parties to the dispute.¹⁰⁸ On February 2, 1835, Macaulay presented his "Minute on Education" recommending the abolition of the Arabic and Sanskrit colleges, and the wholesale adoption of English as the language of education in India. He presented his document directly to Bentinck without first consulting the committee. Bentinck then hastily forwarded the minute to Prinsep, ordering him to bring it to the attention of the supreme council. This Prinsep did, but somehow the news leaked out that Bentinck was about to abolish the Calcutta Madrasa and the Sanskrit colleges at Benares and Calcutta. Three petitions, each bearing 30,000 signatures, appeared in three days' time in behalf of the threatened colleges and this timely action saved the old institutions. Macaulay accused Prinsep of fomenting this activity and roundly attacked him in committee meeting, but Prinsep successfully withstood the barrage of words and even gained time before the supreme council had time to render its final decision to submit a note in rebuttal of Macaulay's minute, dated February 15, 1835.¹⁰⁹ Bentinck at once forwarded Prinsep's note to Macaulay for comment. Macaulay duly annotated the document with marginal criticism upon which Bentinck presented it with Macaulay's minute to the supreme council. Prinsep's argument was brilliant and by no means unconvincing. He pointed out the inconsistent quality of Macaulay's argument in that Macaulay on the one hand held up Oriental literature and science as false, ridiculous, and useless, and yet on the other hand professed to fear that the continued study of this literature would create opposition to the reception of true literature and science. This was similar to the trap of inconsistency into which the evangelicals fell when they declared on the one hand that the Hindus were begging for Christian instruction which the callous British government of India refused to give them, while on the other hand complaining of the fact that Hindu parents regularly withdrew their children from mission schools whenever Christianity was taught in such institutions. Prinsep's chief argument, however, was the practical one. If Macaulay's plan were adopted, all Indians, no matter how learned, would be reduced to the alphabet and the spelling book. The mental status of

¹⁰⁸ Sharp, p. 104.¹⁰⁹ Sharp, pp. 117-30, 134.

India would be lowered instead of raised. In other words, though Prinsep did not mention it, the choice lay between the mathematics and astronomy of Āryabhāṭa; the philosophy of Śāṅkara and Rāmānuja in Sanskrit literature as opposed to a simple textbook like Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues* or a set of simple moral maxims in English.

It goes without saying that the forensic brilliance of one man could scarcely prevail over the tide of English thought habits developed for two generations or more. Macaulay and Bentinck were creatures of this tide. Their minds were made up for them by half a century of steady propaganda which had succeeded in justifying imperialism in terms of the propagation of Christianity. The work of Charles Grant had further identified English-language education of Indians with both evangelical success and with the safeguarding of British rule in India. English-speaking Indians would automatically become English-loving Christians. Macaulay's family background and his immediate ties with Trevelyan in Bengal were added factors, and Bentinck's administrative dilemma in making English the official language while economizing by hiring Indians was important, but the main consideration was that Macaulay's education and recent experience in Parliament precluded his possessing an open mind on the subject of Indian education. Prinsep's arguments fell on deaf ears. The supreme council decided to make English the official language of instruction in government-supported colleges. Nothing short of a twelve-year course in Arabic in the Calcutta Madrasa or an equally long tuition in the Sanskrit College of Benares could possibly have made Macaulay appreciate Prinsep's arguments, but, as Macaulay boasted in his minute, he knew neither Arabic nor Sanskrit. The heat of the controversy, unfortunately for the people of India, obscured the fine work of Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Munro, and B. H. Hodgson, who, in the Bombay and Madras presidencies and in Bengal, had evolved educational schemes which could have advanced Indian literacy a century before Gandhi's *wardha* plan of education became necessary for the accomplishment of that purpose.

Northeastern University

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Loss of the *Santa Maria* Christmas Day, 1492

ARTHUR DAVIES*

THE first Spanish settlement in the New World, at Navidad in Española, was founded by Christopher Columbus as a direct outcome of the wreck of his flagship, the *Santa Maria*. It lasted less than a year, but its brief existence had important consequences for American history. It provided proof of occupation by Spain, necessary to gain the papal award of these new lands in the west. And the massacre of its garrison gave excuse, if excuse were needed, for Spanish persecution of the native population of Española and the Antilles.

In 1940 Samuel E. Morison located most of the features noted by Columbus in his first voyage along the north coast of Española.¹ He established Acul Bay as the Sea of San Tomas, Cape Haitien as Punta Santa, and the Bay of Caracol as the locality where the ship was wrecked. Navidad he considered to have been sited at Limonade-sur-Mer and Guacanagari's village or town was probably Caracol itself (see map.). He studied these locations on the spot and his arguments carry conviction. But the exact location of the wreck and the circumstances in which it occurred merit further study, for different conclusions seem to be suggested by the account of the wreck in Columbus' Journal of the First Voyage. Our knowledge of this is dependent upon an abstract made by Bartolomé de las Casas from a copy manuscript of the Journal no longer extant. As translated by Cecil Jane,² it reads:

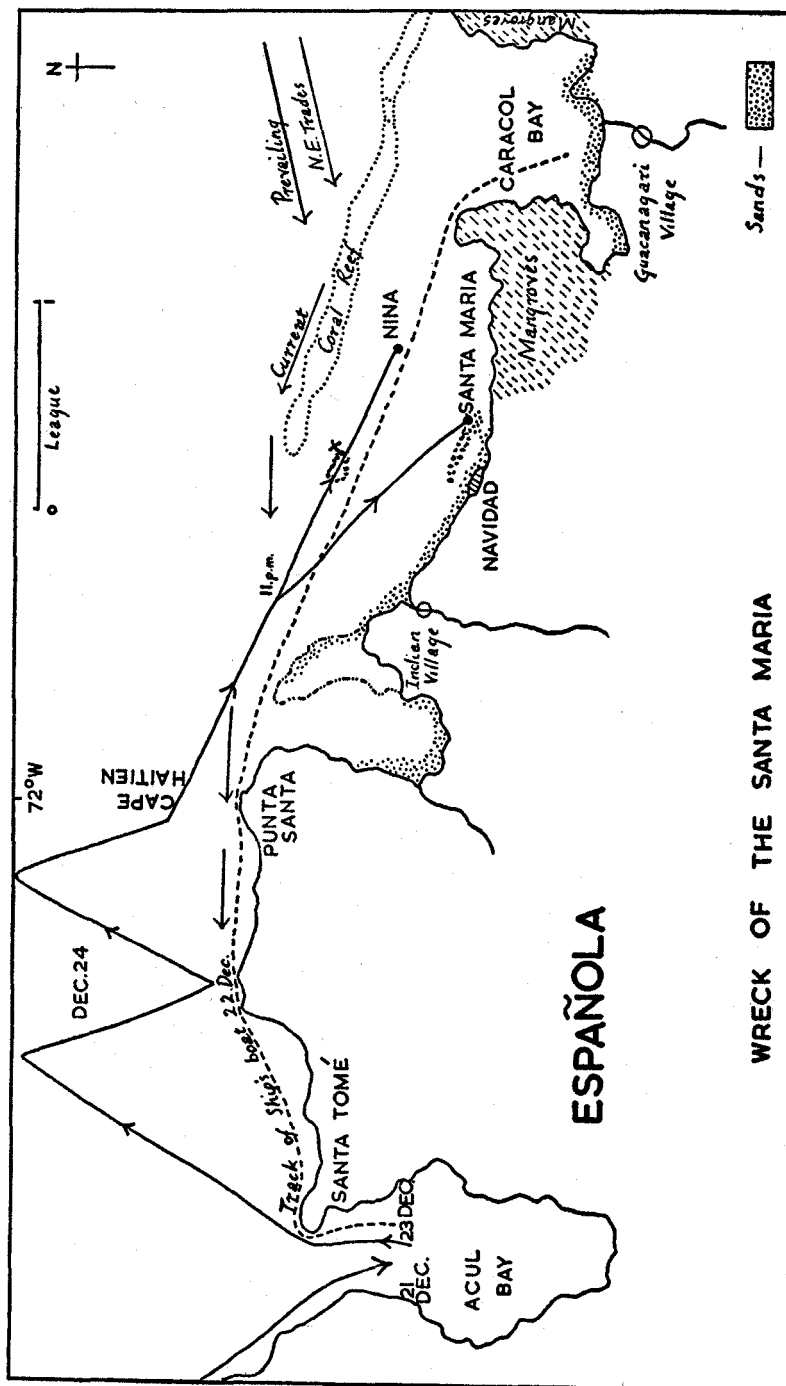
Tuesday, 25 December: Christmas Day

Navigating with little wind yesterday from the sea of San Tomas towards Punta Santa, from which when the first quarter had passed he was distant one

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¹ Samuel E. Morison, "The Route of Columbus along the North Coast of Haiti, and the Site of Navidad," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, XXXI (1940), 239-85.

² Cecil Jane, trans. and ed., *The Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (London, 1930), pp. 216-21. This translation differs in minor details from that of Clements Markham, trans., *The Journal of Columbus* (Hakluyt Society, 1893) but agrees very closely with the excerpts given in Morison, *op. cit.* Concerning the unsatisfactory character of available English translations, see S. E. Morison, "Texts and Translations of the Journal of Columbus's First Voyage," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX (August, 1939), 235-61.



WRECK OF THE SANTA MARIA

league, that is, at eleven o'clock at night, he decided to lie down to sleep, because for two days and a night he had not slept. As it was calm, the sailor, who was steering the ship, decided to go to sleep, and he left the steering to a young ship's boy, a thing which the admiral had always strictly forbidden during the whole voyage, whether there was a wind or whether it was calm. . . . The admiral felt secure from banks and rocks, because on the Sunday, when he sent the boats to that king [Guacanagari], they had passed a full three leagues and a half to the east of that said Punta Santa, and the sailors had seen all the coast and the shoals that there are from the said Punta Santa to the east-south-east for a full three leagues and they had found where it was possible to pass; he had not done this during the whole voyage. Our Lord willed that at midnight, as they had seen the admiral lie down and rest, and as they saw that it was a dead calm and that the sea was like a small bowl,³ all should lie down to sleep, and the rudder was left in the hand of that boy, and the currents which were swift carried the ship upon one of those banks, the sea breaking on which made so much noise that could be heard and seen, if it had not been night, at a full league's distance. The ship went upon it so gently that it was hardly noticed. The boy, who felt the rudder ground, and heard the sound of the sea, shouted, and at his cries the admiral came out and was so quick that no one had yet realised that they were aground. Immediately the master of the ship [Juan de la Cosa], whose watch it was, came out and the admiral told him and the others to launch the boat . . . and they took an anchor and threw it out astern, and he with many others jumped into the boat, and the admiral thought that they had done that which he had ordered them to do. They had no care, except to escape to the caravel [the *Niña*], which was lying off half a league away. The caravel would not take them aboard, therein acting rightly, and on this account they returned to the ship, but the boat of the caravel reached her first. When the admiral saw that they were running away and that it was his crew, and that the water was growing shallower⁴ and that the ship was now lying broadside on to the sea, as he saw no other remedy, he ordered the mast to be cut and the ship to be lightened as far as possible, in order to discover if they could draw her off. And as the water became shallower still, he was unable to save her, and she lay on her side, broadside on to the sea, although there was little or no sea running, and then the hatches came open, but the ship remained whole. The admiral went to the caravel, in order to place the crew of the ship on the caravel, and as a light breeze was now blowing from land, and there also still remained much of the night and they did not know how far the banks extended, he hung off until it was day and then went to the ship from within the line of the bank. He had first sent the boat ashore with Diego de Arana of Cordoba . . . and Pero Gutierrez . . . to inform the king [Guacanagari] . . . who had his town inland, about a league and a half from the said bank. When he heard the news, they say that he wept and sent all his people from the town, with very large canoes and many

³ Markham translates this more freely as "glass." Markham and Morison translate this passage to read that the watch went to sleep before Columbus turned in so that the admiral and the helmsman and the boy were in charge. This is probably a better translation than Jane's.

⁴ Literally "decreasing." Undoubtedly this meant that the tide was ebbing. It had been high tide about 11 P.M., and since the tide was ebbing there was no prospect of higher water to float her off that night. Since the tidal variation in this region is only two feet, the change in level by 1 A.M. can only have been some inches and was quite insignificant. This however would not be known in Spain and is nowhere mentioned in the Journal. It would seem that Columbus or Las Casas used the argument of the ebbing tide as an excuse for having abandoned the ship when it was in no danger.

of them to take off everything that was in the ship. This was done and everything was taken from the decks in a very short space of time. . . . He commanded everything to be placed near the houses [of a native village on the shore]. . . .

Wednesday, 26 December

. . . The admiral . . . recognised that Our Lord had caused the ship to run aground there, in order that a settlement might there be formed. "And," he says, "in addition to this, so many things came to hand, that in truth that was no disaster, but rather great good fortune; for it is certain," he says, "that had I not run aground there, I should have kept out to sea without anchoring at this place, because it is situated within a large bay and in that bay there are two or more sandbanks; and on this voyage I should not have left people here, nor, had I desired to leave them, should I have been able to equip them so well, or to give them so many weapons and so many supplies, or material for making a fort. And it is very true that many people of those who are with me have asked and petitioned that I would consent to give them permission to remain. Now I have ordered a tower and fortress to be built. . . . So they have logs with which to construct the whole fortress, and provisions of bread and wine for more than a year, and seeds to sow, and the ship's boat and a caulker and a carpenter and a gunner, and a cooper, and many men among them who are very zealous in the service of your highnesses, and to give me the pleasure of knowing the mine where the gold is collected. So, then, all has happened greatly to the purpose that a beginning⁶ may be made, and above all, when the ship ran aground, it was so gently that the shock was hardly felt, and there was no sea or wind." All this the admiral says, and he adds more, in order to show that it was great good fortune and the predestined will of God, that the ship should run aground there, so that, if it had not been for the disloyalty of the master, and of the crew, who were all or of whom the majority were from his district [Galicia], in being unwilling to throw out the anchor from the stern, in order to drag off the ship, as the admiral commanded them, the ship would have been saved, and so he would not have been able to learn about the land . . . as he learned in those days that he was there. . . . The admiral ends by saying that of all that was in the ship not a strap nor a plank nor a nail was lost, because she remained as sound as when he set out, except that she was cut and split to some extent in order to get out the water butt and all the cargo. . . . And he says that he trusts in God that on his return [to Navidad], . . . he would find a barrel of gold, which those whom he had left there should have obtained by barter, and that they would have found the mine of gold and the spices. . . .

The exact location of the bank on which the *Santa Maria* ran aground is a choice between possibilities. Morison concluded that the ship ran hard and fast on to a coral reef in the position marked X on the map.⁶ There are difficulties in accepting this view.

The coral reef is today for the most part two fathoms deep and may not have come anywhere so near the surface four hundred and fifty years ago. It is unlikely that the *Santa Maria* had a draught of more than ten

⁶ A beginning to settlement and occupation presumably.

⁶ Morison, "Route of Columbus," p. 259.

feet. The entire description of the wreck suggests that the ship ran aground on a sandbank, so gently that the crew were not even awakened. It is not credible that a ship could run hard and fast onto a coral reef without shock and without noise. Moreover she was whole and sound after days aground and a coral reef would have torn into a wooden ship very quickly. Eight days later on January 2 the ship was still intact when Columbus fired his artillery through her sides to impress the native kings. A coral reef even one fathom below the surface would not produce breakers and surf which could be "heard and seen at a league away"; but the swell breaking on a mud and sand bank would answer to this description. (Las Casas used the Spanish word *banco*, meaning a sand- or mudbank. Ferdinand Columbus used the Italian *secche*, which is a partly submerged sandbank.)

For these reasons it is safer to conclude that the *Santa Maria* ran aground on the sandbank which rises off shore of the sandy beach of Caracol bay. From 11 P.M. the currents and swell of the sea carried the *Santa Maria* southeast and she must have grounded broadside on, for the boy felt the *rudder* ground. In these conditions something more was needed to drag the *Santa Maria* off than to drop her anchor astern and haul on it. That was suitable for a ship beached bows on and where the sea floor gave firm hold for the anchor. A starboard grounding probably required the additional aid of the *Niña* with the easterly trades by day filling the sails and helping to move her back into deeper water. With the sea quite calm there was no danger and Juan de la Cosa, the master of the ship and its owner, probably acted promptly and with a lifetime of experience when he sought the aid of the *Niña*. We have only the account given by Columbus of this incident and it cannot be accepted at its face value, for it is beyond belief that the owner of the *Santa Maria* and his Galicians, the regular crew of the ship and almost the only fully experienced sailors aboard, would panic and throw away their own vessel when no danger threatened at any stage of the wreck.

Morison accepted the account of Columbus on this point and stated:

The Admiral's Journal, which is the only account extant, suggests but does not directly state that the major blame attached to Juan de la Cosa. . . . As master [of the ship] it was his responsibility . . . to see that watches were set and that proper order and discipline were maintained. He had no business to turn in and leave the deck in charge of the Admiral and a helmsman.⁷ When the ship struck, he showed gross insubordination, and a total want of seamanship, if not of common courage, in going off with the only boat, instead of warping an anchor out to windward. Thus he wasted the only chance of hauling her off. . . . Columbus uses the hard word *traicion* (treason) to describe Juan de la Cosa's

⁷ It is possible he was instructed to do so by the admiral.

disobedience. . . . The discovery of gold always brings out the worst traits in human nature; and reading between the lines of Columbus's Journal, I think that he suspected that wrecking the *Santa Maria* was a put-up job on the part of the Galicians, in order to be left in Hispaniola and have first whack at the gold mines. . . .

By his own showing, the Admiral was not clear of blame. . . . There should have been at least one other A.B. on deck to con him [the helmsman], and a competent lookout in the bows, when navigating waters by night so full of reefs. . . . Finally, the Admiral could well have stayed aboard the wreck on a calm night, instead of going aboard *Niña* with the crew. When he did that he threw up the sponge.⁸

This view is contradicted by the facts. It was the admiral who went below leaving no one to instruct the helmsman, not La Cosa. Columbus did not accuse La Cosa of cowardice but only of disobedience in a matter of the best way to rescue the ship, where the experience of its owner was far greater than that of Columbus, a trader who had never commanded a ship as master. If anyone wrecked the ship it would not have been its owner, Juan de la Cosa. And the only person who could get the gold of Española was Columbus, who held a charter giving him possession of what he could find and gain. Moreover the Galicians did not want to stay in Española: without exception they returned to Spain. It was Columbus who on December 26 "recognised that Our Lord had caused the ship to run aground there, in order that a settlement might there be formed." It was Columbus who ordered the mainmast to be cut down in the absence of the master and owner, when the *Santa Maria* was in no danger.⁹ This ensured that she would not sail back across the stormy westerlies of the Atlantic. It was Columbus who abandoned the ship when the sea was quite calm and there was no danger, and it was Columbus who ordered her stores to be unloaded and set up ashore before inspecting her at daylight. He made no signal with his lanterns or guns to call his consort, the *Niña*, to aid the *Santa Maria* and he regarded the action of Juan de la Cosa in rowing to seek her aid as "treason" to his wishes. If anyone "wrecked" the *Santa Maria* of set purpose it was surely the admiral himself. When the full background of the problems facing Columbus is studied in detail it is surprising how "miraculously" the wreck of his ship contributed to their solution. The *Santa Maria* may have run aground by pure mischance, but the possibility that it was arranged to establish the first Spanish settlement in the New World merits serious consideration.

⁸ Morison, "Route of Columbus," p. 260-61.

⁹ It was after the mainmast and sails had been cut down that the ship lay on her side, tilted by the wreckage it would appear.

Columbus spent ten years trying to get support for his great venture from Portugal, Spain, England, and France. In 1492 the Spanish sovereigns granted him the capitulations of Santa Fé. These assured him title and possession to any lands he could discover *or* gain, the monopoly of all trade with them, and appointment as viceroy of such lands and as Admiral of the Ocean Sea. In April, 1492, they altered one word and thereby enormously increased his difficulties; they changed *or* to *and*. Columbus had now not only to *find* but also *gain*.

The sovereigns were well advised to make this change, for without it they would have been committed to support Columbus in the conquests of great lands he might find, like China or Japan, on terms which gave the crown only one eighth of the trading profits with such lands.

Moreover, priority in the discovery of even small islands gave no automatic title to possession by Spain. It was necessary to "gain" these lands by establishing a settlement, the essential condition for papal grant of such lands. This has not hitherto been sufficiently appreciated.

The Canary Islands clearly illustrate the importance of possession by settlement rather than by discovery. They were discovered by Portugal in 1341¹⁰ but no settlement followed, and in 1344 the pope granted them to Spain on payment of an annual tribute. From medieval times the pope had authority to assign possession of islands unoccupied by Christians. Portugal pressed her objections especially under Prince Henry, whose expeditions in 1418 and 1427 to conquer the Canaries from Spain were unsuccessful. In 1435 Portugal tacitly recognized the papal ruling by requesting she be granted those islands in the Canaries not yet occupied by Spain; Pope Eugenius IV did so in that year. Portugal failed, however, to occupy these islands despite four further expeditions. The attempt ended only in 1479 when a Portuguese force landed on Grand Canary and was wiped out by Guanches natives and Castilians. Since Portugal failed to occupy any of these islands, all of them ultimately became Spanish.

Even more significant is the story of the Guinea trade. Portugal led the way in exploration of the Guinea coasts between 1471 and 1475, but no settlements were established. The rich trade in slaves, pepper, and gold dust brought Spanish, French, and English interlopers, and Portugal had to fight a successful naval war (1477-79) before her claims to these lands were admitted. Thereafter King John built Portuguese fortress-settlements to establish possession. El Mina was built in 1482 from stones and timber brought in ships from Lisbon; the soldiers worked with lances at hand to

¹⁰ Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* (London, 1933), pp. 5-9.

repel native attacks. These matters were well known to Columbus, who had sailed to El Mina and lived in Portugal from 1476 to 1485.

Columbus had not only to find but gain; a problem of cosmography and navigation on the one hand, of politics on the other. He had to gain possession by establishing a settlement. So, whereas the sovereigns provided him with two caravels of 60 tons burden, the *Pinta* and the *Niña*, Columbus privately found capital to charter the *Santa Maria* of 120 tons, a Galician cargo vessel engaged in the Flanders trade and described by Peter Martyr as "a great carrack." The two caravels were swift, seaworthy, handy, and of small draught, ideally suited for exploration and economical in manpower. The *Santa Maria* was slow, clumsy near shore, and of seven feet draught or more. But she was large enough to carry stores, men and arms in quantity sufficient to found a settlement. There can be little doubt that this was the intention of Columbus when he chartered her from Juan de la Cosa as his own vessel. In the *Santa Maria* Columbus alone had a cabin astern; it was under the poop deck, near the tiller.¹¹

Columbus discovered the Bahamas, small and worthless. He sailed safely over the dangerous reefs and shoals to Cuba, which, from its size, he believed to be mainland. It was not possible to "gain" a mainland without large forces and in any case he found there nothing of value. He sailed eastward to Española and along its north coasts. Martin Pinzón in the *Pinta* deserted him for six weeks, from November 21 to January 6. Twice before reaching the Bahamas his crew had come near mutiny and it would seem his authority was weak as an Italian with Spanish crews. From December 12 onward they landed and found the Indians friendly and docile. On December 16 and 18 the Indians brought them gold, from the mountain region of Cibao in the interior. On December 16 Columbus wrote in his Journal, "Your Highnesses may believe . . . that this island and all the others are as much your own as Castile, so that there is lacking here nothing except a settlement. . . ." ¹² A week later the *Santa Maria* drifted gently onto a sandbank in a dead calm. Attention may be drawn to certain significant features of the "wreck":

1. Columbus, for the first time on this voyage, knew what lay ahead of him, that a long safe sandy coastline lay to the south once he passed beyond Punta Santa, and that its natives were friendly and had gold.

2. He could be sure that the watch on deck would be asleep for all the ships' crews had spent three days carousing with Indians and their women in Acul Bay. They were asleep on their feet.

¹¹ D'Alberti's model of the *Santa Maria*, Columbus Exhibition in Genoa, March, 1951.

¹² Jane, *Voyages*, p. 203.

3. It was essential for him to found a settlement, but his crews were mainly from inland cities, unaccustomed to long voyages and anxious to be home again in Spain. His authority was not sufficient to order his men to remain in Española but he could not admit to this in his Journal, for it would be confession of failure to "gain" the new land, which would destroy the privileges he had spent ten years in obtaining.¹³ Even if he could persuade enough of them to remain behind he would not be able to get the *Santa Maria* home with a skeleton crew against stormy Atlantic conditions. Moreover it would be no easy task to cut down trees and transport them to a coastal site to build a fort, and during this long period of tree-felling the garrison would be exposed to native attacks, as had happened in El Mina in West Africa. On the other hand, if the *Santa Maria* could be regarded as an expendable store-ship, and were run aground, her crew of forty men obviously could not get home in the *Niña*, which had a crew of twenty-two. Columbus actually left thirty-nine men at Navidad. It should be noted that the idea of an expendable store-ship had been used by the Portuguese in the voyage of Bartolomeu Dias in 1486-87: this voyage was well known to Christopher Columbus and to his brother, Bartholomew.

4. The cabin of Columbus opened to the tiller held by the ship's boy.¹⁴ How easy for the admiral to correct the boy's steering a little to the south and let the current do the rest. Columbus was the first on deck, before anyone else knew she had grounded, as though he were waiting for it.

5. The wreck was located *inside* a good natural harbor, protected from the northeast tradewinds and waves by a long coral reef three miles off shore. This sheltered harbor was moreover as near as possible to the gold region of Cibao. On January 6 Columbus wrote, "... Our Lord miraculously ordained that that ship should remain there, because it is the best place in all the island for forming a settlement and nearest to the mines of gold."¹⁵

¹³ In his letter to the Spanish sovereigns dated February 15, 1493, which announced his discoveries, Columbus did not mention the wreck but claimed to have taken possession of a native town by authority. "... in this Española, in the situation most convenient and in the best position for the mines of gold ... I have taken possession of a large town, to which I gave the name *Villa de Navidad* and in it I have made fortifications and a fort. ..." (Cecil Jane, trans. and ed., *Select Documents Illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus* [Hakluyt Society, 1929, 1932], I, 12.) Andres Bernaldez in his *History of Two Catholic Sovereigns, Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella*, written in 1496, wrote, "Christopher Columbus formed a settlement there in Española ... in a town to which he gave the name of ... la Navidad, and left there forty men with artillery and arms and food, beginning to build a fort; ... And he was forced, as it would appear, to leave them, since, as he had lost a ship, there was no way in which they could depart, and this was concealed here, and it was said that they were left only to begin the work of colonisation." (Quoted in Jane, *Voyages*, Appendix I, p. 313.) It is clear that Columbus concealed the wreck until the massacre of the garrison made it necessary to excuse his action in leaving forty men behind in Española.

¹⁴ See note 11 above.

¹⁵ Jane, *Voyages*, p. 229.

6. The deck and upper timbers of the *Santa Maria* were used to build the fortress. The Journal makes it clear that for over a week the hull remained quite undamaged by the sea in this sheltered spot. But on January 2, 1493, Columbus held a farewell banquet for the Indian chiefs on board the *Niña* and the admiral ordered that the *Niña's* guns should be fired through the hull of the grounded *Santa Maria*, to impress the natives. Columbus trusted no one; he was an Italian with Spanish crews and very suspicious of their loyalty. The real object of this bombardment was perhaps to make it impossible for the garrison to repair the hull, rig up some kind of sail spread, and abandon Navidad with the gold they had collected. Twenty-six years later, on the coast of Mexico, Hernando Cortez burned all his ships to cut off retreat to Cuba.

7. Juan de la Cosa and his Galicians transferred to the *Niña*. Two weeks later, after the younger Pinzón had listened to their account of the wreck, he joined his brother Martin Pinzón in saying "many things, not just, against him [Columbus]." ¹⁶

8. The first Spanish settlement in the New World was made on Christmas Day, 1492, and was called Navidad. It seemed almost ordained by God to bring the Cross triumphant over the seas. Columbus made full use of this in claiming miraculous guidance and design which "caused the ship to remain here." It was an argument well calculated to impress the medieval crusading spirit of Catholic Spain in those days.

9. The only map that has come down to us drawn by Christopher Columbus shows Española with Navidad. ¹⁷ It was probably drawn by him in April, 1493, at Barcelona to support the Spanish sovereigns' request to the pope for grant of these lands in the west. The Bahamas and the mainland, Cuba, are not shown and clearly counted for less than the settlement at Navidad.

10. The wreck fulfilled its purpose. In May, 1493, Pope Alexander VI at Rome issued a bull ¹⁸ which assigned these lands to Spain for three reasons: (1) that the Spanish sovereigns had sent out this voyage of discovery; (2) that their ships had discovered this land; (3) *that a stronghold had been built and people left to occupy the land*. This last proved to be the decisive

¹⁶ Journal, Jan. 8, 1493, *ibid.* Most ships in this period which undertook long voyages were insured by shipping merchants and financiers, often Italian or Jewish. The *Santa Maria* may have been insured through Berardi, agent for the Florentine house of Medici. Columbus perhaps claimed that the wreck was an act of God so as to benefit from insurance. Juan de la Cosa, as the owner of the *Santa Maria*, probably found it advisable in due course to concur with this version.

¹⁷ Reproduced in John Boyd Thacher, *Christopher Columbus* (New York, 1903), III, 88, and in many other works.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 96.

point in the Treaty of Tordesillas. Peter Martyr, the earliest and most reliable historian of the Columbus voyages, writing in 1502 stated:

When John the King of Portugal lived . . . there arose a great contention between the Castilians and Portugals as concerning the dominion of these new found lands. The Portugals, because they were the first that durst attempt to search the Ocean Sea since the memory of man, affirmed that all the navigations of the Ocean, ought to pertain to them only. The Castilians argued on the contrary part, that whatsoever god by the ministration of nature hath created on the earth, was at the beginning common among men: And that it is therefore lawful to every man to possess such lands as are void of Christian inhabitants.¹⁹

In late May, 1493, King John protested against the first bull, and the second bull, sent from Rome in late June,²⁰ granted to the Spanish sovereigns all lands in the west not actually possessed by any other Christian king. Such claim to possession, however, had to be "supported by the existence of a stone pillar bearing a date before Xmas Day 1492, set up and surrounded by homes of colonists." The Spanish claim to the New World thus changed from discovery, made on October 12, to possession by the settlement of Navidad on December 25, 1492.

Thus it was Portugal which claimed these new found lands on the basis of priority of discovery. Spain based its claim on the establishment of a settlement in a land "void of Christian inhabitants." This underlines the vital importance of Navidad, built from the wreck of the *Santa Maria*, in Spanish claims to the New World.

Thus far the loss of the *Santa Maria*, in the words of Columbus, "was really a piece of good fortune." But before Navidad was reached on the second voyage the garrison had been killed for making free with Indian wives and maidens. Columbus thereafter lost his former health and strength. He increasingly suffered torments with headaches, sleeplessness, and arthritis of a painful nature. His mind turned more and more to the Hebrew prophets to seek indications that his mission was divinely inspired, and that God's will was done. Was it remorse?

The massacre of the garrison at Navidad was in some respects the critical fact in the history of the West Indies. Queen Isabella had insisted that the Indians were to be treated kindly and converted to Christianity, but after

¹⁹ Peter Martyr, *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, etc.*, in Richard Eden, trans., *The First Three English Books on America* (1555), ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1885), p. 129.

²⁰ H. Vander Linden, "Alexander VI and the Demarcation of the Maritime and Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493-1494," *American Historical Review*, XXII (October, 1916), 1-20.

the massacre the Spaniards and Columbus oppressed them mercilessly. Within a generation 300,000 Indians of Española had been enslaved or had died in terrible conditions, and had almost been wiped out. They were replaced in the sixteenth century by West African slaves. The loss of the *Santa Maria*, the first event in the history of the Americas, thus had incalculable consequences for the New World. If it was deliberately conceived by Columbus, it should rank as one of his boldest and most brilliant achievements.

Notes Concerning the Chinese Seals on the Peace Treaty with Germany, 1919

IMMANUEL C. Y. HSÜ

CURIOUSLY, the original copy of the peace treaty with Germany, which China refused to sign on June 28, 1919, bore the personal seals of the two ranking Chinese delegates, Lou Tseng-tsiang (Lu Tseng-hsiang) and Chengting Thomas Wang (Wang Cheng-t'ing). How could this have happened? An explanation of this puzzle was furnished by no less an authority than His Excellency Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, who represented China at the conference.*

As is well known, following the conference's judgment in favor of Japan in the matter of the Shantung issue, the Chinese people burst out in protest against the decision in what has since been known as the May 4 Movement. Nonetheless, the Peking government was inclined to accept the verdict of the conference. In the end the delegation was empowered to act as it saw fit. This unenviable authorization drove the five members of the delegation into heated debates, which, however, did not result in agreement. Rumors and speculations arose as to the course of action the Chinese might take, but nobody was sure what the actual outcome would be. It was in this state of uncertainty that the delegation received, a few days before the signing ceremony, a request from M. Dutasta, secretary general of the peace conference, to affix the personal seals of the ranking delegates to the treaty in advance of the formal ceremony, in order to simplify the signing procedure. Complying with the request, the two senior delegates, Lou and Wang, dispatched Yüeh Chao-chü, secretary general of the Chinese delegation, as bearer of their seals.¹ This was done without the knowledge of the other three members of the delegation, who learned of it much later.² The reason for this secretive move was never revealed, but probably it was the fear on the part of the two senior members that its disclosure would further inflame public feeling in China. The affixing of the seals, though in no way indicating official acceptance of the treaty, might have misled "the conference authorities into believing that the Chinese delegation, in urging

* Sincere thanks are expressed to Dr. Koo for answering the writer's queries.

¹ Koo to writer, July 16, August, 1951.

² Koo to writer, Aug. 1, 1951.

acceptance of a reservation, was merely bluffing and acting contrary to the intention of the Chinese Government.”³ This could well be one of the reasons that the conference refused to the last the Chinese requests for a reservation on the Shantung articles (Art. 126, 127, 128). When finally the treaty was rejected by the delegates—to the surprise of the conference and the world—the seals were already printed on the original copy of the treaty. The writer wishes to caution readers not to regard the seals as the Chinese way of signature, for it has become more and more a Chinese practice to use the seal in combination with the signature, although in olden days only the seal, and not the signature, was used.

Most writers, Chinese and Western alike, attributed the rejection of the treaty to public pressure. While not doubting their wisdom, the present writer, with new documentary evidence, does not think it was the sole factor. The secret dispatches from Chief Delegate Lou in Paris to President Hsü Shih-chang in Peking were made known in 1934 by a noted publicist, Wang Yün-sheng, in his voluminous documentary collection, *Liu-shih nien lai Chung-kuo yü Jih-pen*.⁴ A careful examination of the documents revealed that the personal history of the chief delegate was an important but neglected factor leading to the nonacceptance of the treaty.

It is significant that the chief delegate, Lou, was the man who signed for China the infamous Twenty-One Demands in 1915. This was a stain on his career. Now he was once more faced with the undesirable task of deciding whether the peace treaty, which contained articles that the Chinese regarded as unjust, should be signed. Mindful of his regretful past and not wishing to repeat it, he cabled to President Hsü on May 14, 1919: “. . . I signed before in 1915. To sign again voluntarily, [if I] have any conscience at all, ought not come about. . . . The criticism of our countrymen at the present is dreadful, [but] the public judgment of the future is even more to be feared.”⁵ Thus he tactfully showed his disinclination to accept the treaty. This feeling was strengthened by the strong influence of the second delegate, Wang. In another cable dated May 19, Lou stated to President Hsü: “. . . Furthermore, the opinion of Wang Cheng-t'ing is that the reservation issue probably can not succeed. In that event, no matter what happens, he

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Wang Yün-sheng, *Liu-shih nien lai Chung-kuo yü Jih-pen* (China and Japan in the last sixty years) (7 vols., Tientsin, 1934). A vast collection of documents, records of conversations, and personal notes, with succinct introductions by the editor.

⁵ Secret dispatch, Chief Delegate Lou to President Hsü, May 14, 1919, reprinted in Wang, VII, 349. This and the next quotation are literal translations from the Chinese texts, almost in the original word order. If they appear un-English, it is because the translator wishes to avoid a *suggestio falsi* or *suppressio veri*.

positively would not sign. I certainly cannot assume the responsibility [of signing] alone.”⁶ Finally, a few hours before the signing ceremony on June 28, when his colleagues came to his sick-bed and asked if he was going to sign, he spoke with tears: “I signed the Twenty-One Demands. Can I, must I, sign this?”⁷ At the ceremony there was no Chinese representative.

Thus he was continuously haunted by regrets that he signed the Twenty-One Demands. This feeling of guilt made him apologetic and susceptible to restraining influences from within and without. Had he been a man with a different past, he might have signed despite the public pressure.

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⁶ Secret dispatch, same to same, May 19, 1919, in Wang, VII, 351.

⁷ Account of one of Lou's aides, recorded in Gilbert Reid, *China Captive or Free* (New York, 1921), p. 206.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

OSWALD SPENGLER: A CRITICAL ESTIMATE. By *H. Stuart Hughes*.
[Twentieth Century Library.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1952. Pp.
ix, 176. \$2.00.)

THIS is a very good, indeed an excellent little book. Spengler now seems to be about to get sensible appraisal from the thinking world in general for the first time, and Mr. Hughes's guidance is most welcome. The book relates Spengler to his closest forerunners and contemporaries, especially to Nietzsche and other anti-intellectualists. It places him, very carefully, in relation to historiography. It deals briefly and well with the controversy among scholars which followed publication of *The Decline of the West*, and fairly and faithfully with Spengler's influence and his lack of influence upon politics. Finally, it compares Spengler usefully with Toynbee, Sorokin, and Kroeber. The actual analysis of *The Decline* is short in proportion to the rest of the book, but that is not a fault.

Larger works than this about Spengler are unquestionably to come and they will supply the fuller analysis of *The Decline* as well as fuller study of a number of other interesting matters, more particularly matters of comparison. We may, however, complain legitimately that a larger bibliography of material about Spengler is a lack in the present book. The seven items appearing under that head are important, but many less important things might have been listed also; to some extent, however, footnote references meet the need. No doubt it was no part of the publishers' financial plan to include portraits of the subjects of this series of biographies. Yet to learn on page 100 that there was in Spengler's "tense, forbidding countenance . . . the same expression of anger and indomitable resolve that emerges from his writing," makes the lack of even a single portrait rather annoying.

The verdict upon Spengler is judicious, fully grounded, and well worked out. Even so, in one way I profoundly disagree with it. Not one of Spengler's many faults is underestimated, but it is typical of Mr. Hughes's common sense that he takes Spengler's vanity and arrogance perfectly calmly, seeing them as necessarily related to his genius. Mr. Hughes's decision that the professional historians' condemnation of Spengler failed in general by reason of its "narrow and pedantic grounds" (p. 91) would be hard to combat. It is easy too to agree with Mr. Hughes that, after all that can be said against Spengler has been said, his book "remains one of the major works of our century," but not because it is a "symbol of a whole age, . . . the massive concretization of a state of mind—the state of mind of an old society anticipating its end" (pp. 164–65). This is a question not

yet decided. Spengler may, in a century or two, prove to have been important because he correctly and forcefully foretold the approaching ruin of the West, but his importance on this ground may equally well prove to be merely that of a representative of a transitory group of pessimists. Mr. Hughes is, and (very properly) avows himself to be, a historical idealist, a follower of Croce and Collingwood. The state of mind of a society, therefore, has for him an even greater importance than it must have for those holding other opinions. A realist may be permitted to see Spengler's greatness in certain profound insights he had and in his use of the cyclical interpretation of history. That interpretation recently has not only "appeared to explain" (p. 158) many great historical problems; in my opinion, it does explain them.

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RUSHTON COULBORN

LORD ACTON: A STUDY IN CONSCIENCE AND POLITICS. By *Gertrude Himmelfarb*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1952. Pp. x, 260. \$3.75.)

Miss Himmelfarb writes that her study is "not so much the biography of a life as the biography of a mind" (p. viii). It is, however, a genuine biography, and no mere static analysis of ideas. It is the best life of Acton yet written, and a most valuable contribution to the intellectual history of the nineteenth century. The bibliography is complete and critical. Miss Himmelfarb has made good use of the manuscripts of the Acton Collection in the library of Cambridge University, and had her book done no more than make available the hundreds of items from Acton's pen which bear the footnote "Cambridge University Library, Add. MS." it would be indispensable. One suspects that she has skimmed the cream from these manuscripts, but, even so, it looks as though it would be worth while culling from them a separate book, a kind of anthology of what the Victorians would rather gloomily have called "Acton's Remains."

She does, however, do much more than make available these buried evidences of what was going on in Acton's mind. She follows his career as a Liberal Catholic in conflict with the men who eventually triumphed at the Vatican Council of 1870, his refusal to follow Döllinger in an open break with the church, his work as a historian, his position in the development of late nineteenth-century English Liberalism. She admires Acton and, like almost all of those who in recent years have brought him back to our attention, finds that he has a relevance for us that few of his late Victorian contemporaries have. But she does not deny his weaknesses and his failures, and notably that curious quirk of personality which comes out in the inability of this industrious scholar to get into print in his own lifetime any major work at all. She does not explain that quirk, but perhaps it is inexplicable. She does not simplify him into a monolithic Christian ill at ease in his own time because he was so certain of the eternal verities. On the contrary, she sees that he was torn between the ideal and the real, and can sum up, "The man who spoke confidently of a political science whose principles are clear and

certain, who cultivated the reputation of a dogmatic moralist prepared to pass unambiguous judgment on the most controversial subjects, and who used the superlative with an abandon perhaps unmatched by any other serious historian, was the victim of contradictions which a less ambitious, less subtle and less complex thinker would never have suffered" (p. 220).

In her introduction Miss Himmelfarb briefly and effectively accounts for the renewed interest in Acton by his fundamental pessimism. Later she quotes from an unpublished note, "No priest, accustomed to the Confessional, and a fortiori, no historian, thinks well of human nature" (p. 238). This revealing note puts Acton squarely in the current of thinking now running so strong, thinking that finds a major source of our present troubles in the very high estimate made by the Enlightenment of the potential ability of all human beings to guide their conduct so that the pursuit of happiness would in fact become the achievement of happiness here on earth. Yet Miss Himmelfarb is also well aware that Acton could not follow his pessimism into either a belief in some kind of benevolent despotism or into a belief in a continuing war of all against all "in which beast is permitted to devour beast until there emerges out of the chaos some kind of expedient order, some provisional balance of forces" (p. 240). Acton continued to believe in Liberty (the capital letter must be used), in the individual liberty of that sinful animal, man, uncomfortable as that belief made him. From the more serious consequences of this unsolved dichotomy Acton was saved by the firm dogmatic Catholicism that kept him from taking Döllinger's path after 1870. But it does remain unsolved. It is a credit to Miss Himmelfarb's faithfulness to her training as a historian—a training that owes more to "relativism" than one suspects she would be quite willing to admit—that she does not here attempt to solve it.

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CRANE BRINTON

RUMOR AND REFLECTION. By *Bernard Berenson*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1952. Pp. xi, 461. \$6.00.)

Rumor and Reflection is the title Berenson chose for the publication of these pages of his diary, most of which was written while he was hiding "from the rage of the gangs who, in the enjoyment of Nazi approval and support, could throw off the restraints of the more bourgeois elements of the Fascist regime, and return to the reckless violence with which it had started out." That he survived to finish and publish the diary is due in large part to the paradox that Italians and Germans respected the extraterritoriality of the Tuscan villa of the minister to the Holy See from the Republic of San Marino!

The rumors came from the Italian and German daily newspapers that he read and from the direct contacts with the "living world" that, for most of the period described, were limited to his hosts and fellow guests, or to "a changing number of acquaintances of my hosts who found it convenient to disappear for

short periods from Fascist-Nazi eyes." The rumors that reached him, he tells us, he seldom took for more than "suspensions for inquiry" though he recognized that they had positive value as revelations of states of mind. Rumor and reflection were linked as, according to mood and humor and leisure, he put down what the gossip of the day, what conversation, what the books and papers he was reading, what his musings and daydreamings stimulated him to write. When the notes had been reread and prepared for publication, Berenson noted in his preface the further reflection that it is rumor, "not events but what we think about them," that is the essence of living history. "After more than sixty years," he wrote, "in which I have been reading intellectualized, geometrized, dehumanized, or tendentious history, I have come to question whether we get through it a more intelligible panorama of a given period in the past than by reading bards like Herodotus and Livy on Persian and Punic wars, or Carlyle and Michelet with their somewhat more trustworthy accounts of causes and consequences, of motives and realization in the French Revolution." Even these, he says, do not give him the warm feeling of intimacy with the past that he gets from diaries and letters. Fortunately, it is diaries and a few letters that Berenson has given us.

The "rumors" run from January 1, 1941, to November 12, 1944. The "reflections" range in time from ancient Egypt to the peace that he knew must sometime follow the war, in subject from abstractions to Zionists. They are the reflections of a man who obviously preferred to live in an ivory tower provided it had books, works of art, and guests inside, and large windows in all the walls and the roof; yet a man of the world, formed in the second half of the nineteenth century but a penetrating observer of the first half of the twentieth. *Rumor and Reflection* has been compared with the *Education of Henry Adams*, the criticism of Saintsbury, and the later autobiographical works of Santayana. There is something of the best of all of them in it but, to me, it seems closer in temperament, outlook, and brilliance to Burckhardt's *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*.

The editor has asked me to review *Rumor and Reflection* in four hundred words; it is easier to do it in these four: "You must read it."

University of Minnesota

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

THE WORLD OF HUMANISM, 1453-1517. By Myron P. Gilmore, Harvard University. [The Rise of Modern Europe, Volume II.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1952. Pp. xv, 326. \$5.00.)

THIS book fills one more of the remaining gaps, and a very important one, in that useful series "The Rise of Modern Europe." Like Carl J. Friedrich's *The Age of the Baroque*, which appeared earlier in the same year, it takes its title from a cultural rather than either an economic or a political development, and though Professor Gilmore devotes rather more than half of the book to a discussion of economic changes and political institutions, he is evidently happier in

dealing with the culture of the period. The two chapters entitled "Scholarship and Philosophy" and "The Program of Christian Humanism" are the most satisfactory in the book. That on "Art and Science" is also good but necessarily more spotty, and one misses any mention of music in an age that coincides almost exactly with the lifetime of Josquin des Pres, though the extensive bibliography does recognize its existence by devoting a half page to histories of music.

The period which began with the conquest of Constantinople and ended with the posting of Luther's *Theses* is a very significant one in the history of the transition from medieval to modern civilization, but it is also one peculiarly difficult to delineate in a coherent synthesis. Perhaps the difficulty lies partly in the nature of the events traditionally chosen to mark its chronological boundaries. In almost every sphere of activity—economic, political, social, religious, or cultural—there are good reasons for establishing at least a sub-category of periodization beginning about the middle of the fifteenth century and ending about the second decade of the sixteenth. But the essential character of that period seems to me to consist in an intensification and acceleration of changes begun in the preceding hundred and fifty years, combined with a notable shift in the center of gravity of western Europe from Italy and the Mediterranean toward the states of the North and West. Considered from this point of view, the fall of Constantinople is of less than secondary importance, and the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation, though a much more decisive event, was but one of the factors that introduced a new stage in the process of transition. This may seem a captious criticism, yet the orientation upon these two dates, and particularly the former, may actually go far to explain why this book, despite the generally high level of competence its author displays, is somewhat less illuminating than it might have been. The opening chapter is devoted largely to the Turkish conquests and to the broadening of the European horizon by exploration, both of them events peripheral to the major tendencies of the age, the former an accidental impinging upon Europe of an external force, the latter an achievement culminating only toward the end of the period under consideration and in any case the result of forces long active within the changing civilization of the European states. In the next chapter, the author turns to "the direction of economic and social change" and then to a consideration of political events and institutions; but the sense of an inner dynamic in the evolution of European civilization has been irretrievably lost. For here, too, the discussion of commercial development, which opens the second chapter, is oriented almost exclusively upon the discovery of new trade routes to the Far East and the New World, thus divorcing the commercial activity of this period from its roots in the long process of expansion and of development of capitalistic techniques and forms of organization that had characterized the preceding two centuries. This was indeed "the age of the Medici, the Chigi, the Fugger, and the Welser" (p. 56). But there had also been an age of the Bardi, the Peruzzi, the Scali, and the Buonacorsi some hundred and fifty years earlier. In passing it may be noted that capitalism as such is here

discussed only in relation to industry (pp. 49 f.), surely for this period at least a too narrow definition of the term.

Professor Gilmore is obviously aware that many of the developments he describes did not originate in the middle of the fifteenth century and that most of them continued after 1517. The book is peppered with qualifying phrases to that effect, but unless the reader notes these carefully he may be left without a sufficiently clear impression either of the extent to which the economic, political, or cultural currents of this age were merely the continuation at an accelerated rate of well-established tendencies or of the aspects of their development that were in fact novel. Perhaps what is lacking is a basic theory about the fundamental causes of the transformation of the medieval into the modern world, which would furnish a clue to follow through the mazes of this complex age, while at the same time clarifying its dynamic relation to the ages before and after. Or perhaps the fault, if fault there is, lies in the structure of the book, which is determined in part by its place in a series where terminal dates are fixed by the editors, and which is designed primarily to furnish a description of conditions in a cross section of European civilization. Such criticisms, captious as they no doubt are, should not, however, be allowed to minimize Professor Gilmore's achievement in furnishing a competent and, so far as the limits of space permit, a comprehensive survey of this crucial age. It will be welcomed by students and teachers who have long regretted the lack of such a work.

New York University

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

ESSAYS IN HONOR OF CONYERS READ. Edited by *Norton Downs*, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. xxii, 304. \$5.00.)

THE essays that are presented to a historical scholar on his retirement by the historians whom he has trained are usually studies in the field of history that he has made his own; yet these essays range so widely both in content and in time, that their variety has to be explained in the preface as symbolic, not so much of the range of Conyers Read's scholarship as of his active participation, especially during the last war, in the very practical business of helping to make modern history.

Three of these papers are concerned with the sixteenth century, the period with which Professor Read's scholarship has been particularly and very honorably associated. Miss Helen Stafford gives an excellent and very readable account of the Scottish witchcraft trials in 1590-91 (pp. 96-118). Mr. J. R. Jones in a brief paper based on a London Port Book for the year 1587-88, examines the nature and content of English trade at that time; notwithstanding the limited material that he uses, his conclusions are valuable though not especially novel; they are probably not affected by the critical doubts which recent scholars have expressed

as to the completeness of the information that these Port Books provide. The third paper is the longest in the book (pp. 200-69), and in it Professor J. U. Nef sets out to show the relationship between the early beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in the seventeenth century and the contemporary scientific revolution which established the necessity of experiment as a basis for scientific conclusions. Mr. Nef's essay is readable and often suggestive, but is not made easy for the reader by the fact that in the first few pages he gives the impression that he is going to show that this relationship was close and important, while he ends up by asserting that any such connection was decidedly superficial (pp. 260-61). Moreover, half way through his paper he becomes involved in the philosophical history of mathematics; for some reason this seems to be a dangerous subject for a historian, and Mr. Nef is no exception; his style becomes allusive and rather cloudy, and he tends to exaggerate the importance of this subject.

Professor W. M. Wallace contributes an excellent paper on John Wesley's change of heart in regard to the American Revolution (pp. 52-64); he shows that there was no great inconsistency—that Wesley was really a Tory who felt that he had made a mistake in his early support of the Americans and who hastened to get back on the right side. Miss S. M. Lough's paper gives a straightforward account of the events leading to the creation of the Irish Republic (pp. 65-95); it contains nothing that is very new. Miss M. L. Kenney contributes an admirable and illuminating analysis of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's role in English foreign policy during 1937-1938, and especially of his attitude toward his Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and toward the House of Commons (pp. 138-85); she quite rightly condemns his constitutional and mental dishonesty. A paper by Mr. R. Humphrey gives a useful, though rather formal description of the work of historical scholars in connection with the State Department (pp. 30-51). Under the title of "Some Relationships between British Inductive Logic and French Impressionist Painting" (pp. 1-29), Mr. G. Haines IV shows little more than that Impressionists such as Pissarro and writers of logic like John Stuart Mill "lived in similar climates of opinion" (p. 2). A "Los Angeles Diary" by Elinor Nef seems to be out of place in this collection (pp. 119-37). It is to be regretted that the University of Chicago Press should inconvenience the reader by putting all the notes at the end of the book.

McGill University

E. R. ADAIR

QUELLEN UND FORSCHUNGEN ZUR REFORMATIONSGESCHICHTE:
QUELLEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER WIEDERTÄUFER. Volume XIII,
WÜRTTEMBERG. Edited by G. Bossert. (1930. Pp. xvi, 1199.) Volume
XVI, BRANDENBURG UND BAYERN. Band I. Edited by K. Schorn-
baum. (1934. Pp. vi, 375.) Volume XX, GLAUBENSZEUGNISSE OBER-
DEUTSCHER TAUFGESINNTER. Band I. Edited by Lydia Müller. (1938.
Pp. xxvii, 270.) Volume XXIII, BAYERN. Band II. Edited by K. Schorn-

baum. (1951. Pp. viii, 314.) Volume XXIV, BADEN-PFALZ. Edited by *Manfred Krebs.* (1951. Pp. xvi, 574.)

URKUNDLICHE QUELLEN ZUR HESSISCHEN REFORMATIONSGESCHICHTE. Band IV, WIEDERTÄUFERAKTEN 1527-1626. Edited by *Walter Koehler, Walter Sohm, Theodor Sippell, and Günther Franz.* [Veröffentlichungen der Historische Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck, II.] (Marburg: 1951. Pp. xxiv, 574.)

QUELLEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER TÄUFER IN DER SCHWEIZ. Band I, ZÜRICH. Edited by *Leonhard von Muralt and Walter Schmid.* (Zurich: 1952. Pp. xvi, 428.)

THE ANABAPTIST VIEW OF THE CHURCH: AN INTRODUCTION TO SECTARIAN PROTESTANTISM. By *Franklin Hamlin Littell.* [Studies in Church History, Volume VIII.] (Philadelphia: American Society of Church History. 1952. Pp. xii, 148.)

BILDER UND GESTALTEN AUS DEM TÄUFERTUM. By *W. Wiswedel.* In three volumes. (Kassel: 1928, 1930, 1952. Pp. 194; 212; 231.)

THE distinguished German church historian Hans von Schubert remarked that the Anabaptists were not only the stepchildren of the Reformation but also of Reformation research. He essayed a remedy by projecting a series of Anabaptist source volumes. This plan, impeded by the war, has lately been revived and is speedily being carried to fulfillment through a collaboration of European scholars and the American Mennonites. (All but the last two listed above are a part of this project.)

These volumes are of the highest value because they provide the raw material out of which any history of Anabaptism must be constructed. Here one finds jumbled together with all the variegation of the facts themselves such miscellaneous items as the letter of an Anabaptist to a brother in the faith, the mandate of a town council, the report of a local magistrate, the plea of a son to his mother to join the community, the request of a wife to the authorities to be permitted to visit her husband in prison that she may dissuade him from his error, a list of questions and answers in an examination of suspects, the testament of a martyr, and the confession of faith on the part of a congregation. Out of this welter emerges the picture of that church which for the first time stood for religious liberty and the separation of church and state. Here lie the origins of the American pattern. The last two volumes deserve particular mention because the one on Switzerland contains the accounts of the origin of the movement in the circle of Zwingli at Zurich. In these pages one senses the breathless searching of the Scriptures for the true mode of baptism and the true concept of the church with the emerging view that it must consist only of heartfelt believers, and cannot therefore embrace the entire community unless the community itself be

weeded. Neither can it be allied with the state unless the state be merely the administrative organ of the religious community and unless the estate eschew the sword. These groups were for the most part pacifist. The established churches and the governments saw in them the disintegrators of the whole structure of the Christian society of the Middle Ages, and condemned them to death as revolutionaries even though they were innocent of violence. The documents in this volume abundantly document every one of these points. The volume on Hesse is particularly interesting because here the death penalty was not applied. Philip of Hesse firmly refused to shed the blood of any man for his faith. Instead he sought to dissuade through frequent and lengthy examinations. Many of them are recorded in this book at great length.

Dr. Littell, in *The Anabaptist View of the Church*, delineates the genius of the Anabaptist movement. He defines the term Anabaptist as applying to those groups in the sixteenth century who broke with the concept of an all-embracing Christian society and displayed sufficient cohesiveness to form communities of their own. For them the church should consist only of the convinced. It should purge the unworthy by the ban and never compel any to come in. The separation of church and state and religious liberty are the necessary corollaries. Two other themes are especially stressed as characteristic of the movement. The first is called "Christian primitivism," which is taken to mean the effort to restore the pattern of the primitive church. The second is the great commission laid upon every member of the community to engage in missionary activity. The author discusses the devices by which these groups have been perpetuated as the Hutterites and the Mennonites until our own day. There is no more discriminating treatment in English.

Bilder und Gestalten aus dem Täuferium, by Wilhelm Wiswedel, is almost as miscellaneous as the sources, though not so haphazard. It consists of thumbnail biographies, letters, hymns, incidents, anecdotes, and so on. The material is selected to give a vivid and moving picture of the intrepidity of these pioneers of what has come to be our American pattern of church-state relations.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

PRIVATE PROPERTY: THE HISTORY OF AN IDEA. By *Richard Schlatter*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1951. Pp. 284. \$2.50.)

Mr. Schlatter, in his preface, states that this book "served the purpose, for me, of demonstrating the essential continuity of Western civilization, and the importance of the traditional concepts of man and society which the Nazis were attempting to destroy." This is somewhat misleading, for it suggests some vaguely propagandistic, or at least moral, purpose. Actually, the book is a competent and usually well-written survey of the history of the idea of private property from the times of Plato and Aristotle to the end of the nineteenth century.

The usual and much quoted material from the Greeks, Stoics, and Roman

jurists is covered briefly but adequately. Then the early Christian attitude toward property, culminating in Augustine, is considered and contrasted with the later views eventually systematized by Thomas Aquinas. The next two chapters survey the growth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries toward the natural right theory of property as expounded by John Locke. The last portion of the book traces the aftermath of Locke in England, America, and France, and the gradual emergence of the utilitarian theory. Mr. Schlatter concludes that the contemporary scene is characterized by a conflict between the natural right theory, appropriated by the socialists, and the utilitarian theory, appropriated by the liberal capitalists. The future of the theories will be dependent upon the outcome of the struggle between the two rival economic and social systems.

Two main theses seem to arise from this survey, one concerning the character, and the other the use, of theories of property. With respect to the first, the author implies that Western thinking about property consists of permutations and combinations of three basic concepts: that property is a natural right, that it is the result of convention and contract, and that it is justified by, and should be distributed according to, the utilitarian principle. With respect to the second, Mr. Schlatter shows, quite convincingly, that almost any theory of private property can be used as an ideological weapon to defend almost any political, social, or economic system. His account of the uses made of the various theories during the vagaries of the French Revolution is particularly telling on this count. However, this reviewer is unwilling to conclude from this that differences between theories make no difference!

In general, this volume was apparently written for the well-educated public and the advanced undergraduate. The specialist in political theory will find little in it with which he is not already familiar, and the completely uninitiated will probably find that the rather terse summaries of many of the theories presuppose too much.

University of Virginia

MARCUS B. MALLETT

A HISTORY OF CYPRUS. Volume IV, THE OTTOMAN PROVINCE; THE BRITISH COLONY, 1571-1948. By Sir *George Hill*. Edited by Sir *Harry Luke*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. xxi, 640. \$13.50.)

THE late Sir George Hill lived to write this concluding volume, but the exacting though thankless task of seeing it through the final stages was carried out by the editor, who has probably contributed more than his modest foreword admits. Although the book is divided into two parts of eight chapters each, Part I on *The Ottoman Province* is quite properly almost twice as long as the account of Cyprus under British rule in Part II.

Not only is the bibliographical information up to date but critical remarks on source materials may be run to earth in the footnotes, thanks to a well-planned

index. The footnotes themselves are a model of their kind, elucidating the text without destroying the narrative. The author has managed to include documentary material as well as substantial passages in Greek, where one might wish to verify an interpretation. Occasionally, where still more detail is needed a note has been appended to the chapter.

This volume must be read consecutively to savor the Herodotean cunning with which the reader is led through a labyrinth of what might have been arid details without once losing interest. After the very first chapter we follow, even anticipate, major events in the outside world with an instinctive feeling for their coming impact on Cyprus and its complex society. It is indeed complex. Religiously speaking there is the obvious threefold division of Moslem, Christian, and Jew—with the Jew felt but not present until the British occupation. But among the Christians are the Greek Orthodox, the Roman Catholics, and that remarkable relic of monothelitism the Maronite sect (pp. 381 ff.). One learns of the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus itself, of its exposure both to Roman Catholic and, strangely enough, to Calvinist doctrines (pp. 335 ff.). And as late as the first decade of the present century we witness a schism in the church brought about by the difficulties of choosing a new archbishop of Cyprus (pp. 577 ff.).

But the subtleties of ecclesiastical controversy and church government are inextricably intertwined with problems of finance and taxation—where the status of Christian and Moslem is sharply differentiated under the Turks, but where—also under the Turks—it is the Greek Christians who profit by tax collection and who at one time virtually monopolize the administration of the island. Connected too with ecclesiastical matters and with taxes are the innumerable acts of violence, sometimes isolated, occasionally attaining the dignity of an insurrection.

Woven into the same fabric are the machinations of the various European consulates and their hangers-on. Here we find pressure brought to bear deftly by the arrival of a gunboat—British, French, or Russian as the case may be. The consuls themselves are seldom nationals of the countries they represent, and sometimes a single Levantine family monopolizes several European consulates. Of this practice the Vondiziano family is a notorious example (see index). The independence of Greece brought further problems. Cypriotes often acquired Greek citizenship, returned to Cyprus, and then demanded the tax exemption and other privileges accorded Europeans. Later, British rule nurtured the movement for “Enosis” or union with “Mother” Greece.

In a brief review it is impossible to do more than suggest some of the points of interest in Sir George Hill’s last volume. It should be noted that the author has achieved an admirably detached viewpoint. Criticisms of Turkish rule are balanced by praise where justifiable, and also the British government receives its full measure of castigation where castigation is due.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

FULFILLMENT: THE EPIC STORY OF ZIONISM. By *Rufus Lears*. (Cleveland: World Publishing Company. 1951. Pp. x, 426. \$5.00.)

THE RETURN TO THE SOIL: A HISTORY OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN ISRAEL. By *Alex Bein*. (Jerusalem: Youth and Hechalutz Department, Zionist Organisation. 1952. Pp. ix, 576.)

THE NEW STATE OF ISRAEL. By *Gerald de Gaury*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1952. Pp. 260. \$3.95.)

ISRAEL: THE BEGINNING AND TOMORROW. By *Hal Lehrman*. (New York: William Sloane Associates. 1951. Pp. 358. \$3.75.)

THE four books to be reviewed are to a certain extent complementary to each other. Lears's *Fulfillment* is a history of Zionism as a movement aiming at the "ingathering of the exiles" from approximately sixty countries of the world, of the remnants of a people scattered for almost two thousand years. Bein's book deals with another aspect of the same problem, with that of the Jewish colonization of Palestine and the endeavor to create a home for millions of people in a barren, desolate land, one poor in natural resources, extremely limited in area, and one which had scarcely been cultivated for centuries. As we see from Bein's description, one of the results of this experiment was the strange co-existence of two conflicting civilizations: on the one hand that of dynamic modern capitalism and trade unionism, and on the other the static world of medieval feudalism and tribal nomadism. Another result exposed in Bein's book was the conflict among the various forces within the Jewish sector: the old ultra-orthodox Jewish community there, the new idealistic immigrants, the philanthropic colonization and its philosophy, the Zionist colonizing program and work, private capitalist enterprise, and the various forms of utopian socialism and trade unionism, all striving to realize their ideals in the Promised Land. While both Lears and Bein are committed to a broad historical presentation, Colonel Gerald de Gaury examines the new state of Israel from its inception (May, 1948) to the present. The reader of de Gaury's book, who will find in it a concise compendium of facts, figures, and statistics, will be delighted to supplement this knowledge with some of the "behind the scene" information presented with lively journalistic skill in Hal Lehrman's book. In this review it is impossible even to mention, and still more to comment upon, all the features of interest in these four books. The reviewer will, therefore, limit himself to certain short remarks.

The broadest in range and scope is Lears's *Fulfillment*. This goes back (rather unnecessarily, in my opinion) to the Biblical period, and strives to present a synoptical view of the relations between the diaspora and Palestine during two thousand years of Jewish history. After this lengthy introduction follows the story of the "Lovers of Zion," a movement born in the 1880's among the Russian Jewry, and that of the political Zionism conceived of by Theodor Herzl. The author relies chiefly on standard secondary sources. This book is a readable,

sometimes fascinating, popular history of Zionism from the First Zionist Congress to the creation of the state of Israel. Although the book may fail to make any relevant additions to the knowledge of the expert in the field, it is still a very useful one for the layman. The author's views are anchored to the political philosophy of Zionism. Other Jewish political parties and programs are dealt with not according to their merits but only insofar as their opposition to Zionism is concerned. In some of his interpretations and generalizations the author broaches controversial issues (pp. 20-21), and sometimes he indulges in a slightly polemical and propagandistic attitude (pp. 209-10, 259, 278-94). Trivial minor errors need not be mentioned, but some of the more substantial inaccuracies should be pointed out. For instance, to call the Jews in Galicia in the 1900's, who had been emancipated for sixty years and participated actively in the political life of constitutional Austria, "politically less mature" (p. 121) than the Jews in tsarist Russia, is a rather subjective statement. It is also inaccurate to dub the famous Christian Socialist leader in Austria, Karl Lueger, a proto-Nazi (p. 99), to cite the number of Jews killed in the pogroms in the Ukraine and Russia at the end of World War I as "hundreds of thousands" (p. 206), to set the number of Jews in Germany in 1933 as high as 650,000 (p. 260), instead of 500,000 to 525,000, or to state that "by the end of 1939 the Jewish community in Germany was practically liquidated" (p. 302), whereas in fact 215,000 Jews still lived in Germany.

Bein's *Return to the Soil* is a solid, diligent study of Jewish colonization in Palestine from the 1880's to the present. The book is based on the author's extensive research in archives and private collections, his interviews, and many years of personal experience. Much of the data which he has collected so painstakingly is difficult, if not impossible, to find elsewhere. This is valuable material for the future historian. However the general reader, and sometimes also the scholar not particularly interested in the details, will find quite tedious the extended attention given to the innumerable local histories of individual settlements, or the minutious accounts of petty quarrels and discussions, etc. In organization and presentation the author is obviously handicapped by the wealth of material assembled. The book suffers from a lack of uniformity and from repetitions (e.g., pp. 77, 518-19). The style and diction are pedestrian. Some important lacunae should be filled in: for instance more attention should be given to the social organization and agricultural structure of the Palestine Arabs and to the Turkish and Moslem agrarian laws. The important issue of the transfer agreement (*Haavarah*) between the German government and the Jewish Agency is completely ignored in the discussion of immigration from Germany after 1933. The epilogue should be broadened into a comprehensive synthesis instead of being a kind of short, semiofficial statement. Incidentally, a comparative failure, might well be included.

analysis of agrarian colonization in Argentina and Russia, its vicissitudes and De Gaury's *The New State of Israel* is a well-organized, handy, and service-

able reference book. It is terse and sometimes too technical. The author has assiduously gathered the scattered pieces of evidence about a state *in statu nascendi* and integrated them into a well-framed picture. The book is written with precision and an independent judgment. In the opinion of this writer the best chapters are those on the political system of Israel, and on finance and economics. Among the minor errors one needs to be corrected: the recognition of Israel by the United States on May 14, 1948, was *de facto*, and not *de jure*, as the writer erroneously states (p. 19). The explanation of Hebrew words is sometimes incorrect, particularly in grammar, as is also the spelling.

Hal Lehrman characterizes the task of his report as that of describing "sympathetically but objectively, critically but constructively, certain major developments in and concerning Israel during these first formative years" (1948-51). In every controversial issue he tries carefully to render justice to all the conflicting parties and ideologies, conscientiously elaborating the opposing views and intelligently stating all the positions. The nature of the issues involved is elucidated by a searching analysis and thorough discussion. Particularly typical of this dichotomy of criticism and defense are the chapters on the *Histadruth* (General Federation of Labor), on the elections in Israel, on the economic challenge, and on fund raising, particularly in the United States. The chapter "Reporter's Notebook" presents immediate observations and reactions, written on the spot, about the hot issues of the day. In general, the book is stimulating and thought provoking, marked by a fresh insight and a light, chatty style.

Columbia University

PHILIP FRIEDMAN

TURBULENT ERA: A DIPLOMATIC RECORD OF FORTY YEARS, 1904-1945. By *Joseph C. Grew*. Edited by *Walter Johnson*, assisted by *Nancy Harvison Hooker*. In two volumes. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1952. Pp. xxvi, 705; vi, 707-1560. \$15.00.)

"I HOPE you have been keeping a diary. . .," wrote Mr. Grew to a friend in 1915, "for it is a duty for every one of us to record even the smallest points, which may seem to us now unimportant, but which may subsequently, in connection with other points, throw valuable light on dark corners in history." *Turbulent Era* does just that. It is neither memoirs nor autobiography, properly speaking, but a collection chiefly of diary excerpts, letters, and dispatches contemporary with the events they reflect. Grew was perpetually conscious of producing the raw material for historians, saying that "the verdict must be left to history." He never claims, as did Churchill once, to be writing the history that rendered the verdict. Though it contains no major revelations, and though it represents only a selection from 168 volumes of papers, the book is immensely rewarding for historians. It spans the career of an outstanding American diplomat in fourteen posts under eight presidents. The diary is not only a record of events and opinions but almost certainly was itself influential in policy determination at

some points, since a carbon was sent periodically by pouch for private circulation in the State Department, where the routing slips indicate that portions were read even by the Secretary himself—at least by Charles Evans Hughes.

The early chapters recall somewhat nostalgically the departed world of pre-1914 Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg; the rest mirror the profound international changes since then. A large part of the picture is the swift rise of America as a power with world-wide responsibilities. A portion of Grew's job on his first assignment to Washington in 1917 was to "read every telegram which comes to the Department from all over the world"—fantastic in view of 1953's 500 incoming telegrams daily. Grew's last mission abroad, the Tokyo embassy before Pearl Harbor, conducted business of a far different order from the consulate-general in Cairo where he began in 1904 as a clerk at \$600 a year.

All his life Grew worked to develop a professional foreign service, though he himself entered without examination because Theodore Roosevelt heard he had shot a tiger in single combat. He tried assiduously to change "a Congressional plum orchard" to a career service, helped organize personnel under the Rogers Act, and urged repeatedly that career men be appointed ambassadors. Organization and functioning of the service are revealed in small but significant details: for instance, Grew's superiors in two early posts tolerated no carbon copies of dispatches, but demanded retyped originals for the files. Major matters stand out too, such as relations between Washington and the field: Grew is obliged to complain in 1916, in 1932, and again in 1941 that the department does not keep him sufficiently informed on its thinking and policies. The book is full of anecdote and counsel on many aspects of diplomacy: on relations with the press, on junketing congressmen, on various phases of embassy work, on the function of the diplomat abroad in making his country better understood. There is also considerable light on the workings of the department during Grew's two terms as under secretary: the ability of Hughes, the vagaries of Kellogg, the admirable organization under Stettinius.

A brief review cannot cover many aspects of Grew's career, except to indicate that there is valuable material on Germany from 1914 to 1917, on the pre-armistice and peace negotiations in Paris, on the Lausanne peace conference of 1922-23, on Atatürk's Turkey from 1927 to 1932, and on Japan from 1932 to 1941. A long chapter, "Pearl Harbor from the Perspective of Ten Years," recapitulates Grew's reasoning of 1941 that a meeting between Konoye and Roosevelt might have saved peace by a dramatic gesture. His *Ten Years in Japan*, the *Foreign Relations* documents, and Feis's *Road to Pearl Harbor* have already made this view familiar. Feis used Grew's diary and dispatches, but came to an opposite conclusion; Grew in 1951 had read Feis, but retained his former conviction.

Painstaking editorial work, including explanatory chapter introductions and footnotes on other sources, provides continuity and comment. Selection is judicious too. Grew wrote in 1924 that a diary should be "thoroughly indiscreet." Professor

Johnson has retained many "indiscretions," though he has cut anecdotal material and some pungent observations on individuals which, as they appear in the original, will interest historians. The diary is now in the Harvard library; presumably it will be accessible. Meanwhile, this is a first-rate record of diplomacy and of a distinguished diplomat.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

Ancient and Medieval History

THE ROMAN MIDDLE CLASS IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD. By H. Hill, Senior Lecturer in Classics in the University College of Swansea. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell; New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. xi, 226. \$3.00.)

THIS detailed, careful study of the origin and growth of the Roman middle class (the equestrian order) and the participation of this class in politics during the republican period will most certainly take its place with several other major contributions to Roman history which have come from the British Isles in the postwar era.

Any treatment of the equestrian class under the Republic must begin with the early Roman cavalry, since "the Latin name for the Middle Class of Rome, *equites* or *equester ordo*, is in itself a sufficient indication of the fact that this class derived ultimately from the cavalry." The early cavalry of Rome, however, was almost exclusively senatorial, and it is not easy to trace the *equites* from military and patrician sources to a point where one can discern the emergence of a "*tertium corpus* standing between Senate and people." Clearly, there were several links in the evolutionary chain: the early substitution of a property qualification for one of birth enabled non-senators to be enrolled among those eligible to receive the *equus publicus*; next (in the third century B.C.) came the restrictions which confined the economic activity of senators to landowning and agriculture and thus afforded an open field for the accumulation of wealth through other means by Romans who were not members of the office-holding class; finally, in the time of C. Gracchus, Hill believes that the reform of the jury-courts which involved the exclusion of senators also necessitated a definition of equestrian status by virtue of which an *ordo equester* actually came into existence.

Some may feel that Hill has not fully appreciated the significance of the Second Punic War in its relation to the accumulation of wealth by the "middle class," and it will be surprising if some reviewer does not voice a protest against the seemingly needless details of political history which clog the final chapter on "The Middle Class in Politics: II. After the Gracchi." The present work suffers from what might be called a "vertical" treatment of the subject which may have discouraged the author from consulting certain studies which might have been helpful. In the discussion of Plautus (p. 50) as a source for the activities of

Roman businessmen, to cite only one example, the author does not seem to be aware of J. N. Hough's "Miscellanea Plautina," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXI (1940), 186-98, and, unfortunately, the manuscript must have gone to the press before the appearance of G. E. Duckworth's "Wealth and Poverty in Roman Comedy," *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 36-48.

University of Minnesota

TOM B. JONES

SAINT BERNWARD OF HILDESHEIM. Volume II, HIS WORKS OF ART.

Volume III, ALBUM. By *Francis J. Tschan*, Professor Emeritus of Mediaeval History, Pennsylvania State College. [Publications in Mediaeval Studies, University of Notre Dame, Volumes XII and XIII.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1951, 1952. Pp. vii, 503; 268 codices. \$5.00 [II], \$6.00 [III].)

EIGHT and nine years after the publication of the first volume (see *AHR*, XLIX [October, 1943], 143), Professor Tschan has published the two concluding volumes of his intensive study of the life, times, and art of Saint Bernward of Hildesheim. Again the scholarship is thorough and careful, the prose readable, the proofreading accurate, and the indexes adequate. According to the title page Volume II deals with the saint's works of art. Perhaps it would be better to say the art of his see of Hildesheim, since Tschan admits it is impossible to assess accurately either Bernward's personal contribution or the depth and range of his inspiration and guiding direction. This art reveals rich diversity. Individual pieces reveal influences coming from countries as far apart as Ireland and China as well as reflections of the complex artistic currents of his own day. Tschan discusses a wide variety of objects—works in gold and silver such as crowns, crosses, a crucifix, chalices and a paten, book covers and candlesticks, and works in bronze such as the doors and the column of St. Michael's church. Inspired by the modern interest in technology, Tschan describes in detail the manufacture of the doors and column. Volume II closes with a chapter on St. Michael's Church, including drawings of the church and the ground plan and those of the Holy Cross chapel of 996.

Volume III is a volume of photographs. The reader should keep open its appropriate pages as he reads Volume II in order to follow the description with the illustrations before his eyes. On the whole the photography is superb. The black and white outlines stand out sharply without blurs cast by shadows; the angles and light effects are admirable. Of course you have to use your imagination to visualize the coloring of the codices and the glow of the metals. To those of us who have experienced the religious spell of Hildesheim, the inclusion of pictures of St. Michael's before and after the devastating bombing is both sad and rewarding. We can only hope that the rebuilding will regain a large measure of its former glory and charm.

This kind of study is particularly valuable because when large numbers of regional studies are completed we can get a better balanced picture of the eleventh-century Empire than is possible now when so much material is drawn from a limited number of centers. Professor Tschan is to be congratulated that his long devotion to St. Bernward has resulted in so complete and scholarly an account of the saint and his times.

Brooklyn College

IRVING W. RAYMOND

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1204. By *Douglas Jerrold*. (2d ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1952. Pp. 614. \$7.50.)

THE author believes that a broad and sound knowledge of English history is essential for clear thought on many problems which Englishmen face today. Educated persons who are concerned primarily with affairs other than history do not have time to read the voluminous products of recent research which have added much to our knowledge of this period. He has therefore written this general history. He relies for his information principally on recent secondary works and the story he tells gives evidence that he has generally selected them with discrimination.

In the portion of the book which deals with the prehistoric and Roman periods he treats at some length the prehistoric cultures of western Asia, northern Africa, and continental Europe, significant developments of the Greek and Roman civilizations and the origins and character of Christianity. These he regards as necessary backgrounds for the understanding of English developments. The remainder of the period is confined more strictly to English history.

In such a work the selection of material and the interpretation of it are of fundamental importance. The topics treated are generally well chosen, though the emphasis on a few of them might be changed to advantage, as in the case of the possessory and proprietary assizes (pp. 506-507). Occasional statements of fact which are questionable, or should have at least the saving grace of a "probably," are not of great significance. Most of the conclusions seem to be reasonably drawn, but some of them appear to be too sweeping. When it is said that the constitutional development typified by the oath of Salisbury "consolidated for eight hundred years the power and prestige of the monarchy in England" (p. 373), the influence of one development, important as it was at the time, seems to be unduly emphasized. The assertion that the Norman and Angevin connection of England from 1066 to 1204 "had, in fact, prevented that unification of the three kingdoms of England, Wales and Scotland which would otherwise certainly have taken place" (pp. 549-50) brings us into the speculative field of what might have been.

Despite some other conclusions of this type, the book provides a generally good account of the historical development of the period as seen by the light

of recent research. The narrative is organized and written in a style which makes it interesting, and it is within a scope which should enable even a busy person to find time to read it. The general reader should find this book to his liking.

Haverford College

WILLIAM E. LUNT

UNTERTANENEID UND TREUVORBEHALT IN FRANKREICH UND ENGLAND: STUDIEN ZUR VERGLEICHENDEN VERFASSUNGSGESCHICHTE DES MITTELALTERS. By *Walther Kienast*. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau. 1952. Pp. xii, 356. Cloth DM 17,70, paper DM 15,50.)

THE author, who enjoys professional prominence among today's generation of historians in Germany both as co-editor of the renowned *Historische Zeitschrift* and as member of the history department of the University of Frankfurt, devotes the present volume to the solution of a complex and difficult question which he himself in his preface terms "a central problem of medieval constitutional history." In broadest formulation his investigation is designed to ascertain on a comparative basis whether, during what period, to what extent, and in what way the feudal state and the feudal social order recognized a legal bond between the king and the subject-at-large or, in feudal categories, the after-vassal. Naturally the development of such a bond constituted an important factor in the evolution of the modern state. Outward manifestations of the existence of such a relation were the rendition of a special oath of fealty to the king by others than his crown-vassals and the express reservation of the faith due to the king in the ceremony of homage done by a man to his immediate lord. A careful study of the system of these fealty reservations is therefore of pivotal importance for the unraveling of this entangled topic.

The present volume is not the first attempt of the author to cope with the knotty problem. He has focused his attention thereon ever since the preparation of the first volume of his initial contribution to historical research, entitled *Die deutschen Fürsten im Dienste der Westmächte* (I, 1924; II, 1931). In that work he advanced the unorthodox thesis that in France and Germany feudalism did not generally recognize a duty of faith owed by the after-vassal to the king paramount to his duty of fealty and obedience to his lord, and that Frederic I's well-known enactment at the Diet of Roncaglia (1158) which required a reservation in favor of the emperor in every oath of fealty constituted the culmination of a reform. Faced with doubts by scholars of high standing he reasserted his views in an article entitled "Der französische Staat im 13. Jahrhundert" (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXLVIII [1933], 457). On the occasion of the appearance of H. Mitteis' monumental *Lehnrecht und Staatsgewalt* Dr. Kienast returned again to his theme and, in a study with the same title as Mitteis' work (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, CLVIII [1938], 3), discussed once more the relations between the crown and the various levels of vassals, especially in thirteenth-century France. Disputing Mitteis' hypothesis that during the first part of that century the French king had regained

a position as *dominus ligius ante omnes*, he announced a forthcoming broad-gauged investigation of the bond between the king and the after-vassals in the feudal monarchies of western Europe. In a preliminary fulfillment of this promise the author published in 1948 an article with the same general title as the present book, covering the principal aspects of his problem for Germany, Italy, France, and England (*Zeitschr. d. Sav. Stiftg. f. Rechtsgesch.*, LXVI, Germ. Abt., 111). This volume thus represents the latest and presumably final stage of prolonged and painstaking research. It deals with the situation only in respect to two countries, France and the Anglo-Norman kingdom, but it discusses a multitude of partly new facets of the subject, especially the solution of the possible conflicts of duties for the vassal having several lords and his right to feud against the king.

On the basis of all available evidence the author reaffirms his original views that in France a general legal bond between the king and the after-vassal had ceased to exist since the end of the ninth century. The general oath of fidelity which had been required and enforced by the Carolingians had fallen into disuse with the ascension of the Capetian dynasty. There is no evidence for a reservation of the faith owed to the king during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries except in the fealty oaths of his own crown-vassals. The French king regained his direct hold over the lower levels of the feudal pyramid not by reviving the Carolingian oath of fidelity required from all subjects but by an increasing array and system of special oaths of security. The contrary position of the contemporary legal literature, especially of the *Livres de justice et de plet* and Duranti's *Speculum juris*, is explained with the well-known contrast between the law in books and the law in action, with the customary reliance of medieval legal writers on the works of others, particularly of the decretalists and Italian feudists, and with their general tendentious attitude favoring the royal power.

The picture of the Anglo-Norman kingdom as unveiled by Dr. Kienast represents the opposite pole in the constitutions of feudalism. Here the existence of a bond of fealty between the king and the after-vassal is beyond dispute and, according to the author, clearly manifested by the famous oath of Salisbury and its subsequent repetitions. He subjects the celebrated event of 1086 to a renewed examination and concludes that the oath of Salisbury was most likely actually rendered "by all landholders of account," as the chronicler tells us, and constituted therefore an important constitutional innovation over the contemporary French practice. Dr. Kienast thus reconfirms like Stenton (*Anglo-Saxon England* [1943], p. 610) the traditional appreciation of the Conqueror's act of statesmanship which had been soft-pedaled by newer historians, e.g., by McIlwain or especially Radin (*Anglo-American Legal History* [1936], p. 136). So far as the legal character of the oath is concerned the author reluctantly leaves it undetermined whether it amounted to a true oath of homage, as Maitland, Stubbs, and most recently Stenton (*loc. cit.*) were inclined to assume, or whether it constituted merely an oath of fealty, as Jolliffe suggested. At any rate it became the legal basis for the customary savings clause for the faith due to the king which is attested so

convincingly by the treatises of Glanville, Bracton, and the other thirteenth-century tracts. Of course, the whole problem of conflicts of vassalic duties had to be treated with the view to this bond. With respect to Normandy proper the author concludes on the basis of carefully analyzed evidence that the general oath of fealty was imported to the duchy from England and not vice versa.

There is no question that Professor Kienast has succeeded in gathering together a rich harvest of documentary materials and that his analysis and interpretation are persuasive by their cautiousness. It seems to be certain that his contribution will mark a new milestone in our knowledge of the constitutional practice and theory of the feudal state in France and England and will be indispensable in all further discussions of the subject.

It might perhaps be suggested that a further analysis of the functions and effects of homage and oath of fidelity remains desirable. Maitland has tersely observed that the oath could be exacted in many cases where homage was not exible (Pollock-Maitland, *History of English Law*, p. 298) and Jolliffe has stated that "fealty was a much less tangible tie than homage" (*Constitutional History of Medieval England* [1937], p. 163). The recent edition by Dunham of the little thirteenth-century notebook discovered by Flahiff, of the *Casus Placitorum*, and of the collections of thirteenth-century case reports (see *AHR*, April, 1953, p. 597) proves clearly that the oath of fealty in contrast to homage did not have to be taken by the lord personally (Selden Soc., LXIX, pp. lxxix, 11, 106), but the precise effects of the oath of fealty without homage are still somewhat obscure.

University of California, Berkeley

STEFAN A. RIESENFELD

STATO E NAZIONE NELL'ALTO MEDIOEVO: RICERCHE SULLE ORIGINI NAZIONALI IN FRANCIA, ITALIA, GERMANIA. By *Ernesto Sestan*. [Biblioteca Storica.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1952. Pp. 372. L. 1700.)

THIS well-documented study by Professor Sestan of the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa sheds new light upon several questions which have weighed heavily on the minds of historians in an age disturbed by nationalism: How far back can nationalism and national consciousness be traced? When do nations first emerge in history? At what points respectively do Gallo-Romans and Franks become Frenchmen, the inhabitants of Italy begin to be Italians? Few scholars are as well equipped to answer these questions as Professor Sestan, an authority on the political institutions of the early Middle Ages who is equally familiar with the extensive recent literature, both European and American, on nationalism. While holding that nationalism is a distinctively modern phenomenon, he points out that the various elements or attributes of the French, Italian, and German nations originated in the early Middle Ages, between the barbarian settlements and the eleventh century, although they remained inert and cold until the idea-force of modern nationalism combined them into a single whole and made them

the sovereign motive of human action. Similarly there existed in the early Middle Ages groups which, in default of a better term, we must call "nations." Sestan qualifies them as "passive," "vegetative," or "pre-modern" nations to distinguish them from their modern descendants.

The purpose of the present book is to assess the role of the state, the political factor in nationalism, in the formation of the French, Italian, and German nations. This task Sestan performs not only with brilliance and originality but with a high degree of objectivity and freedom from nationalistic bias. His book affords no comfort for those who exaggerate the political universalism of the Middle Ages or who seek justification in that period for their own national prejudices. Roman universalism by the fifth century had lost its appeal for the Romanized provincials of the West. It survived among them only in its religious form. Most of them adjusted themselves without much repining to the barbarian kingdoms (*regna*) which were taking the place of the empire. Within these *regna*, which Sestan calls pre-modern "national" states, ethnic diversities were slowly obliterated; juridical differences between barbarians and Romans persisted much longer. In tracing the influence of these *regna* and of the Carolingian Empire upon the formation of the future nations, Sestan's main reliance is upon literary sources which reflect the attitudes of the educated Romans and only too often the ecclesiastical point of view. The attitudes of the barbarians have to be deduced from their policies and laws, while for the submerged masses of the Roman populations there is virtually no information. Sestan utilizes legal sources skillfully, but he does not emphasize sufficiently the significance of law in the development or retardation of the nascent nations. To the reviewer this is the one weakness in his excellent book.

Sestan's conclusions, based on careful analysis of the sources, should be of interest to all students of nationalism. The Roman Empire, he believes, provided the groundwork for the later nations, because it is of the essence of the nation to conceive of itself not as a unique group, or *unicum*, but as a member of a family from whose other members it is differentiated. Roman-Christian civilization provided the consciousness of a common humanity which permitted the growth of the western European nations. Of the sections into which the western part of the empire was dismembered, "the Gauls" had the most complex history. Here by the eighth century the fusion of peoples under the Frankish monarchy was well advanced. That it was not complete, however, is shown by the prologue to the Salic law, "the first trumpet-blast of a national consciousness that was entirely new" (Huizinga's phrase). This prologue, dating probably from the early years of Pepin the Short's reign, appears to be the authentic voice of nationalism, a glorification of the Franks as Christ's chosen people, untainted by heresy, superior to the Romans both in military strength and in devotion to the Christian martyrs. But this is Frankish, not German nationalism, addressed primarily to the Gallo-Romans but also applicable to the other Germanic peoples whom the Franks had conquered.

Sestan's account of his own country is especially fine. Within less than a hundred pages he has compressed a superb critical discussion of the relations between Romans and barbarians in Italy. He notes the skeptical indifference with which the masses of the population accepted servitude, the failure of leadership in the senatorial class. But the Lombard monarchy showed signs of constructive and unifying power. On the eve of the Frankish conquest the population of Italy already formed a relatively homogeneous people, a nascent nation, with the exception of the Lombard aristocracy, which stood apart from the rest of the nation as a privileged noble class, its superior juridical status guaranteed by the Lombard law.

A German nation as such did not exist in the eighth century, merely a number of tribal confederations, six of whom beyond the Rhine were ultimately to form the German nation. The empire of Charlemagne was not based on any sense of German community; the community envisaged by Charlemagne as emperor was the community of Western Christendom. The Frankish state, as distinct from the Carolingian Empire, did contribute to the formation of the German nation by promoting the conversion of the Germans to Christianity, by the conquest of the Saxons and other Germanic peoples beyond the Rhine, and by organizing in the ninth century an East German monarchy, within which those same Germanic peoples found "that community of institutions and experiences, of memories and of destiny, which are the nourishment of nations" (p. 352).

The state, in short, exercised positive and decisive action in the formation of the German nation. Its action in France, begun under the Merovingians, was relaxed by the Carolingians, who actually discouraged national consolidation by fostering Aquitanian particularism. Later, of course, it was resumed by the Capetians. In Italy, under the unifying influence of the Lombard monarchy and of the Roman cultural tradition, a nation was already in process of formation in the eighth century, in spite of the differences of laws. Its realization was frustrated by the Carolingians, who linked the nascent Italian nation with the universalist dreams of empire and papacy. Sestan might also have added that they introduced full-fledged feudalism, which fortified itself behind the ramparts of the Lombard and Salic laws.

The Rockefeller Foundation should be congratulated for its discernment in having financed part of the research that went into the production of this stimulating book.

Carleton College

CATHERINE E. BOYD

LE SIGNORIE [1313-1559]. By *Luigi Simeoni*. In two volumes. [Storia politica d'Italia dalle origini ai giorni nostri, 3d and 4th edition, VII.] (Milan: Casa Editrice Dottor Francesco Vallardi. 1950. Pp. xii, 1141.)

L'ITALIA NELL'ETÀ DEI PRINCIPATI DAL 1343 AL 1516. By *Nino Valeri*. [Storia d'Italia, V.] (Verona: Arnaldo Mondadori Editore. [1950]. Pp. 918 [630 illus. and maps].)

IL RINASCIMENTO E LA CRISI MILITARE ITALIANA. By *Piero Pieri*. [Biblioteca di cultura storica, XLV.] (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1952. Pp. 661.)

It is no exaggeration to say that Simeoni's and Valeri's works represent the first complete and integrated narratives of the political history of the Italian Renaissance. While all other branches of Renaissance civilization have been amply surveyed in fundamental works, the student of political history has had to go on consulting C. Cipolla's volume on the period of the *signorie* in the "Storia politica d'Italia" of 1881, or its revised and polished, but also greatly abbreviated, version of 1900 by P. Orsi. Today Cipolla's work is antiquated not only as to factual knowledge but even more because it is in substance merely an assemblage of individual histories of the Italian states. The problem of what forces determined the political interplay on the peninsula during the 100 or 150 years preceding the rise of the equilibrium system had not been given a comprehensive analysis until the appearance of the books here reviewed. It is of great interest to note that Simeoni and Valeri arrive at basically identical notions of the causes and phases of the general development. The backbone of the narratives of both authors is the effort of the Visconti of Milan to subject northern and central Italy to one strong monarchy, the final failure of this attempt, and the consequent opportunity for other Italian powers to build up large regional states. Even though the opposition to the Visconti is differently accentuated, both authors emphasize two points: First, the states system of the later Renaissance was not a mere creation of subtle Renaissance diplomacy—a "piece of art" in Burckhardt's view—but the gradual and necessary outcome of the long and vital struggle between the strongest tyranny and the lesser surviving powers. Secondly, the turning-point in this contest came in the first years of the Quattrocento when Venice and Florence were for a while the only states north of papal Rome not subject to Giangaleazzo Visconti's dominion, and when these two republics, after Giangaleazzo's death, quickly established their region states.

The fact that the climax of the political struggle coincides with the moment when Florence attained her leadership in humanism and the arts seems to imply a definite interrelationship between the politics and the culture of the early Renaissance. But here the ways of the two authors separate. In Simeoni's eyes, the student of the period must above all be on his guard lest he be deceived by the continued use of the medieval slogans rhetoric of our humanistic sources. The of Guelph and Ghibelline, the claim of the humanist chancellors of Florence that Florence's fight was for the salvation of *libertas* and the legacy of the *Respublica Romana*, while humanists in Milan and at other tyrant courts referred to the memory of Caesar—all this, to Simeoni, is the empty oratory of literati. The fight

was one for power, and humanism and Renaissance culture had "no point of contact" with the serious work of Italy's reconstruction; they were at home only in the luxury, glamour, and protection of the new courts (pp. 3, 39 ff., 372 ff.). Valeri, in the sharpest possible contrast to this interpretation, sees in the passionate conflict between unification and liberty one of the fundamental factors that shaped the minds of the early humanists. Around 1400, he says, there clashed in humanistic literature two worlds of ideas and ideals. "In the eyes of the Lombards and their partisans, [the desired order of] Italy was marked by the sternness of a dictator from the house of the Visconti; in the eyes of the Florentines, Italy was to have the features of their free republic, by forming a federation or a system of Italian states." Humanism, which in the Trecento had been shaped by socially unfettered scholars, became, in the Florentine republic which waged the fight against the Visconti, an education for civic responsibility (pp. 260 ff.).

That views so diametrically opposed to each other could be held simultaneously must be attributed largely to Simeoni's astounding neglect of much recent research. In many places, particularly wherever he refers to humanistic thought and culture, he reproduces the state of knowledge of a generation ago, as this reviewer has shown in an article in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXIV (1952), 44-48. Valeri's book, on the other hand, is distinguished by its masterful assimilation of the available information on all aspects of Renaissance culture. Witness to this broad preparation is a synthetic chapter on Italian culture, including literature and art, during the later Quattrocento (the time of Lorenzo de' Medici), and the classified bibliography at the end of the volume—perhaps the best extant guide to recent Renaissance historiography. It is thanks to this firm foundation that Valeri visualizes the constant interaction of ideas and events in the Trecento and the first years of the Quattrocento. The question which remains to be answered is how long humanism continued to be profoundly influenced by its participation in political life. In the opinion of this reviewer, the necessity of taking sides in the contest between *libertas* and an Italian peace built on enforced subjection molded humanistic thought until the end of the 1440's, when, after the extinction of the Visconti family, the equilibrium system finally emerged. But then the approach used in the earlier parts of Valeri's work is needed beyond the period to which he has applied it.

In any such extension of our questions to the later Renaissance we shall have to consult Piero Pieri's *La crisi militare italiana*. First published in 1934, this book has now appeared in a revised edition which, among other changes and supplements, adopts Valeri's interpretation of the Florentine-Milanese struggle (pp. 198-202). Pieri's major objective is a delineation of the more profound and distant causes of Italy's breakdown at the time when France and Spain invaded the peninsula. He does not deny that one of the immediate sources of Italian helplessness about 1500 was the readiness of every state to make common cause with non-Italian powers. But is it also true that Renaissance luxury and the division into many states had made Italy financially incapable of defense and had

reduced Italian arms and morale to inefficiency, as the old accusations run?

Pieri answers the first question by presenting a cross-section (of about 200 pages) of the economic, financial, social, and political conditions in the major Italian states from the early fourteenth to the early sixteenth century—the first systematic examination spanning Italy. The conclusion reached by his interesting demonstrations is that none of the Italian powers, with the exception of Naples, was seriously hampered in its defense by economic deficiencies, despite the well known shrinkage of the Italian economy during the Renaissance. It was largely Italian money that paid the invading forces. "Had the war been an action of finance, no doubt Italy would have emerged victorious" (p. 595).

As for the second question, Pieri, by minutely examining the military events from 1494 to 1530, suggests that the alleged decay of Italian nerve and will for self-defense may be a theory that has been overworked. To be sure, the crucial arm of the early sixteenth century, typified by the South German *Landsknechte* and the heavy infantry of Switzerland and Spain, had no counterpart in Italy. But this was because creation of such an infantry presupposed the existence of a warlike lower nobility capable of providing officers and leadership to the new peasant infantry. In the Italy of the Renaissance precisely this nobility had either ceased to exist, or seemed too dangerous to the young Italian region-states to be allowed to play a military role. Likewise, the Italian states would have had to fear a peasantry trained in the use of arms. However with this one, though eventually fatal, exception late Renaissance Italy was even in the military field—in fortification technology as well as in strategy and tactics—the teacher of the rest of Europe. Students of military history have long been disputing the assumption, ultimately stemming from Machiavelli, that the Italian mercenaries had lost their fighting spirit and fought merely sham battles from the early Quattrocento onward. In the place of this old theory of moral decadence we are now given clear and specific references to social-political factors held responsible for the military weakness of the peninsula. In conjunction with the fresh approaches to Trecento and early Quattrocento politics made by Valeri and to some extent by Simeoni, these are results which must substantially affect our general appraisal of the civilization of the Italian Renaissance.

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

Modern European History

SPAIN AND THE EMPIRE, 1519-1643. By *Bohdan Chudoba*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 299. \$5.00.)

THIS is an interesting book and an important one. On the basis of extensive research in Spanish and other little-used archives, the learned author offers a re-evaluation of much European history in the century or more of Spanish ascendancy. He traces the relations between the Spanish crown and the empire, and

seeks to shed light upon the curious changes in the battlefield of Spain: from the defense against the Turks into the conflict with the Protestants. The author feels that "if this book can help the reader to understand this change better, its mission will be fulfilled." It is, as far as this reviewer is concerned.

A very valuable bibliography with detailed references to archival material, three dynastic tables, and two end maps, of Europe before and after the Thirty Years' War round out this fine historical study. The bibliography contains very provocative comments by the author, giving a clear indication of where he stands in relation to present historical discussion on some of the highly controversial material he handles.

Chudoba begins his discussion with some rather general chapters, dealing with "Europe, the Dynamic Continent," "On the Land, on the Sea," and what he calls "An Imperial Program." These are actually chapters dealing with selected phases of the policies of Charles V, somewhat disjointed, though perhaps unavoidably so, considering the author's self-imposed limitation to the Spanish angle. But it does not seem that here the author gets much beyond what we know from Brandi and Wyndham Lewis about the enigmatic figure of this great and unhappy emperor.

The real crux of the story is the reign of Philip the Second with which the second part of the book deals. Here, in a series of challenging chapters, on "I, the King," "The Princes and the Bishops," "The Rebels," and "Preachers, Diplomats and Astrologers," the author develops his central theme: the conflict between Philip's genuine, indeed ardent religious concern and his equally strong dynastic sense of power. Chudoba rightly insists that Philip II was a man of deep religious feeling, but a man who like the rulers of early medieval times had a sense of royal prerogative sharply at odds with the pretensions of Rome. He rightly stresses the Spanish absolutism and imperialism of Philip and the way in which such a conception of European policy made opposition to the Protestants not only a religious duty but a first article of his reason of state. He succeeds in conjuring up a genuine sense of the perplexities of Spanish foreign policy. Certainly until the eighties, that is to say, well beyond the battle of Lepanto (1572), the Turkish threat was a real and indeed a central motif of Spanish imperial policy. In this connection, he has some hard things to say about nineteenth-century historians, including Merriman, who he says "were unable to grasp" the issues, in spite of the work Ranke had done. Along with these concerns, Chudoba shows how the Habsburg family relations continued to be an ever-present issue. Intertwined with the religious ones, on account of Maximilian II's Protestant leanings, they were as often a source of weakness as of strength. It is against this background that Chudoba develops his discussion of the Dutch struggle characteristically entitled "The Rebels." It is refreshing to look at this fight which for so long has engaged our Protestant sympathies from the vantage point of the king's religious traditionalism and dynastic authoritarianism. But I doubt that the sympathies of many will be changed by this approach.

A third part deals with the steady decline of Spanish power and influence within the empire and without, until its final liquidation on the battlefield of Rocroi. One turns with especial interest to the author's discussion of Bohemia, of course; for is not the whole study in a sense background for unraveling an important strand in the developments that led to the battle of the White Mountain? It is fascinating to have the Spanish role, and especially that of the ambassador, Baltasar Zuñiga and the count of Oñate, clearly brought out. However, one cannot help feeling that Spain's part, in comparison with that, for example, of Maximilian of Bavaria, or Ferdinand, is overstressed, as is in turn the role of what Chudoba calls "the German immigrants." Indeed, some of the discussion almost sounds as if the Bohemian war had been one between Germans come for no particular reason to Bohemia and the Spaniards, like Oñate, "who wanted war." Was not this bloody opening duel of the Thirty Years' War deeply rooted in very native Protestant leanings and passionately felt popular and national aspirations? The very vital constitutional issue likewise receives hardly any attention, including such matters as the earlier plan to offer the crown to the elector of Saxony. Maybe, when looked at from Madrid, Bohemia appeared as a kingdom to be "bartered," but the main issues of this crucial conflict were native, indeed. Chapters on "The 'White Mountain'" and "On the Way to Rocroi" conclude this challenging study. Many a historian will sympathize with the author's conclusion, after a passing glimpse at the Peace of the Pyrenees that "the dramatic power of a tale is in the tale itself, not in the silence which follows it." Only we would add that it is also in the telling, and Professor Chudoba has told his tale well.

Harvard University

CARL J. FRIEDRICH

TUDOR CHAMBER ADMINISTRATION, 1485-1547. By *W. C. Richardson*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1952. Pp. xiii, 541. \$6.50.)

THIS book is a most important study of the organization of the English public fiscal system during the early Tudor period. It is particularly valuable in its detailed analysis of the organization and functioning of the new revenue courts set up by Henry VII and Henry VIII, namely, the general surveyors, the court of wards and liveries, the court of first fruits and tenths, and the court of augmentations. It concludes with the incorporation of the augmentations into the renovated exchequer in Queen Mary's reign. The study is based on the most detailed research in the Public Record Office and the British Museum. It not merely carries the factual story of the organization and working of the courts but gives brilliant pen pictures of the men who were behind the new organization, such as Reginald Bray, John Heron, Robert Southwell, and William Paulet, marquis of Winchester. The appendix includes biographical notes on Bray and Southwell together with lists of the names of all important revenue officers during the reigns of the first two Tudors.

In the very title of the book, *Tudor Chamber Administration*, there is con-

tained an implication to which certain exceptions may be urged. This implication is that the new revenue system of the Tudors was the outgrowth of the system of accounting used in that department of the royal household known as the king's chamber. This idea is widely held among English scholars and seems to have been accepted by Mr. Richardson without too much examination. When one studies in detail the actual setting up of the Tudor system in the early days of Henry VII's reign, the part the chamber played in the development consisted in the selection of the treasurer of the chamber as the treasurer for many of the royal revenues. In receiving and dispensing these revenues John Heron, who was treasurer of the chamber, does not seem to have taken over any of the procedures or methods of accounting of his own department. As a matter of fact his account books are the simplest possible entries of receipts and expenditures such as any professor might keep in preparation for his income tax reports. As circumstances demanded, Heron elaborated his procedures to suit immediate needs. The further implication that the Tudor system of collecting and auditing land revenues introduced with the general surveyors of the crown lands was part of the medieval chamber system or that it was based on usages in the duchy of Lancaster does not seem to me to be proved. It is probably the case that the new methods of collecting and auditing revenues which are designated as the chamber system were already in vogue on the estates of the great magnates. My own suggestion is that they were introduced into the royal system through the king's acquisition of the estates of the earl of Warwick. In any case the first definite use of the new methods of collecting and auditing rents of lands seems to be in connection with the Warwick and Spencer lands somewhere in the early days of Henry VII's reign. As a matter of fact the Tudor revenue system was not an extension of the chamber procedure but an arrangement made up of many elements intended to bring public finance directly under royal control. Mr. Richardson himself recognizes this when he says, "Chamber administration, in its formative organization at least, was simply an extension of conciliar control in the particular realm of crown revenues." Failure to follow up this simple generalization accounts for a good deal of the prolixity and involution of the earlier chapters of the work. In spite of these observations, this book is one of the most important contributions to Tudor institutional and constitutional history that has ever been made. Few works excel it in the mass of documents which had to be consulted or in the difficulty of interpreting their data. It represents a stupendous amount of work, brilliantly conceived and ably completed. Needless to add, the work of the Louisiana State University Press is unusually fine.

University of Illinois

F. C. DIETZ

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLITICS.

By *Lucy S. Sutherland*, Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 430. \$4.00.)

THE purpose of this book, in the words of the author, is to elucidate "the part played by the East India Company in the politics of [the] time" and to show how a "large financial, trading, and territorial corporation could be affected by, and did itself affect, the intricate workings of politics at Westminster, and the unending struggle of the governments of the day to maintain the 'connexions' on which their survival depended." "The subject is complex," one reads on the dust jacket, "involving as it does the internal politics of the Company as well as the workings of the eighteenth century political machine." This reader is impressed by the "complexity," but finds it difficult to follow the details of the "elucidation"; not that any particular point is not made clear, but that the shifting allegiances and alliances, both among the company's leaders and among the ministers of state, based largely on temporary personal or political advantages and on more entrenched personal rivalries for company control, make it difficult to find any consistency in principles and objectives, if, in fact, such consistency, aside from personal interest, existed.

From the formation of the United Company until the victories of Clive in Bengal both the internal history of the company and its relations with the government show little controversy, but the acquisition of new territories and of political power, along with increased revenues (especially the *diwani* from Bengal), brought an end to peace. The legal right of the company to hold territory won in part by government troops and to retain its territorial, as distinct from its trading, revenues, was questioned, but never pushed to an answer, the government being satisfied to share in the spoils and to leave responsibility to the company; on the other hand additional revenue gave greater opportunity for individual gains, in spite of Clive's reforms on his last trip to India, 1765-1767. One phase of this story ended in 1769.

The internal history of the company in the 1760's centered in the struggles for the control of the House of Directors, in which the main protagonists were Robert Clive and Laurence Sullivan, their friends and allies. The directors were annually elected by those proprietors who held £500 in stock; additional stock did not give additional votes, but before elections collusive transfers of stock, "stock splitting," became common, the number of voters being sometimes doubled as a result. Members of government played in this game, especially Henry Fox (Holland) who used the large sums in his hands as paymaster, while later Shelburne and Townshend, though members of the same ministry, were deeply involved on opposite sides! This practice was scotched, though not killed, by an act of 1767 which denied votes to those who had not held the stock for six months prior to an election. One of the hottest fights was in 1769, when a group of Sullivan's friends "borrowed" large amounts of stock, promising to return it at a value of not less than 280; it was just at this time that the company's difficulties multiplied, stock prices fell, and many of this group, although they won the election, were ruined financially. Sullivan himself never fully recovered his previous financial standing. But this loss made them all the more anxious to control the company so

that they might be able to recoup their losses. In the meantime the government, spurred on by Chatham before his illness, demanded its "cut," and in 1769 obtained an annual grant of £400,000 from the company; the company was allowed to raise its dividend to 12½ per cent, with the proviso that if the dividend fell to 6 per cent the grant to the state would lapse. These events were important: Sullivan was now largely responsible for raising Hastings to power in India, while the government had such a direct interest in the company that it had reason for further intervention, and, for the present, the company had lost considerable of its former independence, particularly in regard to finances.

The story becomes even more complicated as the difficulties of the company increase, as the government assumed more direct responsibility through the unsatisfactory Regulatory Act of 1773, and as the actions and policies of Hastings aroused bitter controversy—all pointing to the need for greater state control, as ultimately provided in Pitt's India Act. The interplay of all these factors—government interests, political advantage, personal rivalries and ambitions—are discussed by Miss Sutherland in great detail, but enough has been said to indicate the scope and character of her work. She has written an obviously authentic study of great value to the special student, but one which by its very nature can have little general appeal.

As a final note it may be added that Sullivan stands out as able, though slippery; that John Robinson, who is best known as the chief political manipulator for George III, Charles Jenkinson, and Henry Dundas seem to have been the few politicians who had sound and constructive views on India.

Dartmouth College

ARTHUR H. BASYE

JAMES STEPHEN AND THE BRITISH COLONIAL SYSTEM, 1813-1847.

By *Paul Knaplund*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 315. \$5.50.)

WITH the publication of Professor Knaplund's book the important place of James Stephen in the growth of the second British Empire receives the recognition which is long overdue. For in this volume, as in many earlier writings, Mr. Knaplund has shown beyond shadow of doubt how libelous was the picture of Stephen drawn by Charles Buller in his pamphlet *Responsible Government*. Far from being a bureaucrat, Stephen was as we now know well an ardent reformer; far from being a stickler for precedent and a meticulous faultfinder, Stephen was probably the most important of those great Englishmen who created the colonial civil service and set that standard for probity and public spirit which is perhaps the brightest spot in the somewhat murky story of European imperialism in the nineteenth century. Not that James Stephen himself was an "imperialist" in the Kiplingesque sense of the word; his skepticism as to the permanence of the imperial tie has been demonstrated earlier by Professor Schuyler and here by Professor Knaplund. But he had a strong sense of moral responsibility, which was a

part of his evangelical heritage, for those alien races and those humbler exiles from the British Isles living in parts of the world over which the British flag already waved, or which were being invaded by his own generation of Englishmen. Moreover, he was enough of a statesman to evaluate properly the extent to which British law and institutions were or were not applicable in governing those lands.

This volume is based primarily on a close study of Stephen's formal opinions on colonial laws from the day when he became counselor to the colonial department in 1813. In these he expressed not only his opinions as to whether the laws in question were in conformity with the governors' instructions and those acts of parliament and legal precedents applicable to the colonies, but whether they were expedient and suitable to the conditions existing in a particular colony. In considering some of the problems raised in this way Mr. Knaplund has also used many of Stephen's memorandums written for the private information of the colonial minister or his colleagues in the department. In the arrangement of the chapters and organization of the material the book is planned to show the range of topics covered by Stephen's opinions on colonial legislation. This plan excludes the possibility of dealing with some of the more exciting political crises, such as the struggle with the assembly of Lower Canada in the twenties, in which Stephen did play an important if not a leading part, and thus detracts slightly from the drama of the story. But it has the enormous advantage of introducing the reader to a body of source materials which he might otherwise overlook or be unable to consult, few records being more difficult to master or less likely to attract a young enthusiast working on the history of a particular colony than the material listed in the Public Record Office catalogue under C.O. 323. And since the writer of this review feels that the history of the British Empire in the nineteenth century has been largely distorted by failure of historians to understand those constitutional and legal restrictions which surrounded the problems of colonial government in the period under discussion, gratitude is here expressed for a volume which does so much to elucidate them.

Bryn Mawr College

HELEN TAFT MANNING

BRITISH WORKING CLASS MOVEMENTS: SELECT DOCUMENTS, 1789-1875. By G. D. H. Cole and A. W. Filson. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. xxii, 629. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Cole has probably contributed more to the knowledge and understanding of British social history than any other living scholar. Much as one may dispute some of his productions, there can be but praise for the volume under review. It is a book of readings to serve as a companion to his *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement* (a book little known in this country) and will be useful also in conjunction with the well-known Cole-Postgate volume, *The Common People*. Many pieces in this volume are quite inaccessible to students of

English social history and are thus doubly welcome. The reviewer finds it an impossible task even to sketch the richness of the materials contained in this book. Organized in twenty-one chapters, we find pamphlets, newspaper and periodical articles, statutes, trial reports and judicial decisions, extracts from books, and certain manuscript materials concerning the evolution of the trade unions and of the political labor movement, crisis situations in the history of labor, theories about the role of labor in modern society, and governmental reactions to labor's activities.

Perhaps the most important chapters are those dealing with crisis situations: the reaction to the French Revolution, the Luddites, and the period from 1820 to the end of the Chartist movement. Obviously no such book of documents can satisfy everyone's interests. The reviewer feels that the operation of the Speenhamland system is inadequately documented, that more space should have been devoted to the Luddite movement, and richer selections ought to have been offered from the writings of the pre-Marxian socialists.

The student of the history and theory of the European labor movement will always be fascinated by the question why the British labor movement developed differently from the Continental one. The book certainly helps to answer the problem to some degree, but it disregards certain problems which become accessible only through a more theoretical approach. These are: the impact of theory upon action; the relation of industrial to political action; the types of industrial and political action practiced by labor; the internal structure of the various labor organizations; and the strategy pursued not only by the government but also by the English ruling groups in the periods of upswing and decline of labor.

To the student of English history, of social history, and social and political theory Professor Cole's book will remain for many years to come an indispensable tool. The reviewer hopes that a second volume will bring the documents up to 1953.

Columbia University

FRANZ L. NEUMANN

THREE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY DIARIES. Edited by *A. Aspinall*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Reading. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1952. Pp. lxx, 402. 45s.)

THE diaries chosen by Professor Aspinall belong not to the tradition of Pepys and Evelyn but rather to that of their contemporaries Sir Edward Dering and John Milward, or the earlier diarists of the parliaments of James I, whose records of the critical sessions of Stuart parliaments have been published over the last quarter of a century but have not yet been fully exploited by political and constitutional historians. Such material makes little immediate appeal to the general reader; nevertheless, when enough of it has been edited, it will make possible still another and much needed rewriting of the history of Parliament, possibly to be

known in the future as the diary, as opposed to the current emphasis on personnel, phase of the interpretation of Parliament.

In a long introduction Professor Aspinall has provided a valuable analysis of the state of parties during the crisis over the Reform bills, and especially of the efforts of the Tories to reorganize their party after the defeat of 1830. By a successful editorial device of combining entries from three diaries for the years 1830-1834 into a single chronological sequence he has made it possible for the reader to follow from day to day the events in Parliament and the rumors from the country as reported by more than one observer. Twelve cartoons by John Doyle are a lively addition to the text.

The bulk of the volume is formed by the diary of Lord Ellenburgh, the eldest son of Lord Chief Justice Ellenburgh. An ex-cabinet minister and member of the House of Lords, he was in close touch with the duke of Wellington, and he hoped by his speeches to further the Tory cause as well as his own career. He wrote down, almost daily while Parliament was in session, lists of persons attending conferences or political dinners, plans for his own speeches, some of which he never delivered, and comments, often critical, on what happened during debates in the House of Lords. The writers of the other two diaries were Whigs, chiefly interested in the House of Commons, and both were less systematic but more lively writers. Edward John Littleton was member for Staffordshire, an unsuccessful candidate for speaker, and eventually chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland; whereas Le Marchant as secretary to Lord Chancellor Brougham was interested in writing for Brougham's benefit vivid descriptions of the moods as well as the events in the House of Commons. All three diarists were more interested in the personalities than in the principles of politics; only the earlier entries reflect a sense of change, the fear of revolutions, and include comparisons with the events of 1640; in the rest they quote the opinions of Wellington and Brougham, describe their uncertainties over the conduct of Peel and Grey, and speculate on the possible conduct of the king, whose continuing constitutional importance is emphasized. It is well that Professor Aspinall in his introduction has stressed the efforts made to bring together the duke of Wellington, the duke of Cumberland, Peel, and other dissenting elements in the Tory party, and to organize Tory actions in Westminster and the country; otherwise the overwhelming impression left by the diaries would be of party loyalties so tenuous that there was a constant possibility that a new government might be formed of both Whigs and Tories, of almost incredible lack of understanding between Tory leaders in the Lords and the Commons, and considerable uncertainty whether during these critical years the Tory party had any leaders at all. What is however clear throughout is that, despite the enormous changes in party organization, politicians a hundred years ago as today were chiefly, if not solely, interested in holding office.

Smith College

JEAN S. WILSON

RECORDS OF THE BOROUGH OF NOTTINGHAM: BEING A SERIES OF EXTRACTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CORPORATION OF NOTTINGHAM. Volume VIII, 1800-1835. (Nottingham: Thomas Forman and Sons. 1952. Pp. x, 509.)

THE first installment of these records appeared in 1882. After seventy years *finis coronat opus*—or rather *magnum opus* of eight fat volumes, ranging from 1155 to the extinction of the old corporation by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. The documents are of more than local importance, for Nottingham has had a way of “getting into the act” since Saxons, Danes, and Normans fortified the high rock that overlooks the upper valley of the Trent. In the Middle Ages it made good cloth and alabaster statues, entertained kings when they came to hunt in near-by Sherwood Forest, and played host to three parliaments of Edward III. Charles I raised his standard there in 1642 and Cromwell retaliated by destroying the castle. After 1700 the town dominated the expanding hosiery industry, with Hargreaves, Arkwright, Ned Ludd and his knitting-frame smashers writing a chapter in industrial revolution and social tension. Today, about the size of St. Paul or Toledo, it is famous as producer of knitwear, as birthplace of Jesse Boot, the cash chemist who invented drugstore chains, and as home of one of the loveliest and liveliest of the younger universities.

The final volume, covering 1800-35, is a rich combination of the local and the national. On the one hand we see the town suffering from growing pains as population increased by half in two decades, wrestling with the problems of housing, traffic snarls, market facilities, sanitation, “utilities,” hospitals, vaccination, jails, schools, asylums, poor relief, and the care of the unemployed in depressed days. The corporation stubbornly refused to permit the enclosure of the common lands, whether its own or those of individuals, since that step would deprive the burgesses of their ancient common pasture rights. The price paid for this attitude was overcrowding of the already well-built-up area. The Free School was a perpetual headache, because the headmaster and the usher agreed that pupils’ attention should be obtained “by the operation of Fear rather than Encouragement” but on all other matters were in such a state of “personal Disunion” that they did not speak to one another. Meanwhile the constable had his hands overfull: apprehending a fishmonger who sold eels underweight, a common rogue and vagabond who “pretended to tell fortunes,” a stranger suspected of “being here to obtain bodies for dissection,” and a scoundrel who was “exposing for sale on the King’s highway certain obscene and filthy prints and songs without just cause”; prohibiting anyone from “petting or molesting” a culprit “during his exposure in the Pillory”; destroying dogs “during the late alarm created by the Hydrophobia”; searching all taverns for bagatelle boards; and providing refreshment for six men who sat up all night with him “to keep waken a poor woman that ad taken lodnum.”

On the other hand the corporation had wider tasks and interests, as every

national trend or movement came to its attention. It did the counting for the new-fangled census (1801), chose "visitors" to enforce the first factory act (1802), appointed commissioners to administer the income tax (1803), and in other ways accepted the traditional obligations of "self-government by the king's [or rather Parliament's] command." It co-operated with the central authorities in suppressing Luddite violence and made plans for coping with "an expected insurrection of the populace in this town and neighbourhood" during the depressed postwar years. Yet, good solid Whig that it was, it sought a peaceful solution of the knitters' grim problem, condemned the Peterloo massacre as a violation of the people's right of assembly and petition, opposed the Corn Law of 1815 and the threatened continuance of the income tax, and supported Catholic emancipation as well as the Reform Bill. It accepted with fairly good grace the municipal reforms which wiped it out in 1835.

There may be another side to the story, but the record in this volume raises my suspicion that the urban governing bodies of the old regime did not do such a bad job as some British historians would have us think. There seems to be a case for reappraisal. Meanwhile the town fathers of Nottingham deserve our thanks for a big job well done; and at least a dozen seminar exercises can use this book as their point of departure.

University of Minnesota

HERBERT HEATON

THE AGE OF PARADOX: A BIOGRAPHY OF ENGLAND, 1841-1851. By John W. Dodds. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1952. Pp. xvii, 509. \$6.00.)

THIS handsome and curious book is rather in the tradition of *Only Yesterday*, of *America's Past*, and of *The Mauve Decade*, than of Macaulay, Halévy, or Trevelyan. Professor Dodds says that he is writing the biography rather than the history of a decade, and perhaps that is the key to his method. The plan is straightforwardly chronological: chapter 1 is devoted to the year 1841, chapter 11 to 1842, and so it goes on. With enormous industry he has combed the literature, the press, the advertisements, the playbills, the daguerrotypes and the colotypes of the period for material to bring this decade of the 1840's to life again year by year, month by month, almost (at times) day by day, rather in the way it must have appeared to his "ordinary sensual Englishman" (p. xvi) living at the time. The result is a gigantic scrapbook of printed and published material belonging to, or about, that one decade. It is a delight to the browsing general reader, a valuable handbook to the student of nineteenth-century English literature and manners (for whom no doubt it is primarily intended), but somewhat frustrating to the historian seeking new facts about, or new light on, the period as a whole.

Professor Dodds selects his material from the vast mass available with considerable skill. Some of it opens up avenues of knowledge of details of the literary and social history of the period that have not been previously explored so carefully

or so well—for example mid-Victorian reading habits and cooking. Where he is less adequate at times is in the “commentary” he introduces into his text for the purpose of stringing together and giving continuity to his extracts and illustrations. This commentary is sometimes badly overwritten (for example, the description of the dawn of the new year 1841 at the beginning of chapter 1), but more usually it is too flat and trite to stand up well beside the exciting contemporary material from which he quotes. Thus (on p. 149) he writes, “If the ‘gentle reader’ of these pages (to use a Victorianism) had been living in this fourth year of the decade, which would have seemed more important to him: Ashley’s attempt to get a Ten Hours’ Bill through Parliament or the first visit to England of General Tom Thumb?” Again (on p. 210) we read, “At home, as winter disappeared into spring and spring into summer, the average Englishman (a faceless creature who keeps disappearing as one approaches him) was getting born, teething, being whipped at school, finding a profession or a job, getting married, rearing a family, and, if he was lucky, becoming eventually a slippered pantaloon. Sometimes, too, he was dying. . . .” We also are informed (on p. 237), “Dickens’s *Cricket on the Hearth* appeared on the bookstalls for the Christmas trade, and the chirrupy story of the cricket and the kettle with its assorted pathos, mystery, and melodrama warmed the hearts of some critics and chilled others. It could hardly fail to be popular, however, and before you could say ‘Hollywood’ it was appearing simultaneously in dramatic form on six London stages”; finally (on p. 284) concerning the marriage of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning we are told that “What was eventually to be known as the most romantic marriage of the century did not even make the *Annual Register*.” Professor Dodds’s British readers will also be somewhat surprised to find such usages as “Mansionhouse” instead of Mansion House (p. 60) and “clubhouses” (p. 264) to describe such institutions as the Athenaeum, White’s, the Travellers’, and the Reform.

Professor Dodds does not always give his sources for his commentary (though he is careful to do so for his quotations), which seems to have been in the main distilled from high school textbooks of English nineteenth-century history, and presents too often an oversimplified picture. A more sedulous reading of Halévy (who is only quoted once, on p. 243) might have helped to enliven and give more authority to the narrative. What Professor Dodds does bring out adequately and well is the richness of material and creative achievement during these eleven years. His own title, “The Age of Paradox,” is perhaps bettered by the writer of his publisher’s “blurb” on the dust cover, who christens the period “the hinge of the century”; but, call it what you will, it was a very remarkable series of years, each of them (and not merely 1848) an *annus mirabilis*: in 1841 first appeared such diverse publications as *Punch*, *The Illustrated London News* and *Bradshaw*; in 1846 came Edward Lear’s *Book of Nonsense*; in 1847 (either in book or in serial form) the first novels of the three Brontë sisters and of Anthony Trollope, Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair*, Dickens’ *Dombey and Son*, Disraeli’s *Tancred*, and Melville’s *Omoo*; in 1849 Mr. Saxe invented the saxophone. These and hundreds of

other manifestations of the age have been chronicled and characterized by Professor Dodds. He is also an accomplished necrologist. Along with the seven successful accouchements of Queen Victoria which occurred during this decade, he also records the deaths of the great, the extraordinary, and the notorious in large numbers, and sometimes the once-great or notorious as well. The duke of Wellington, surviving stubbornly into 1852, escapes Professor Dodds's literary sickle, but on his last pages he stops to remember that in 1851 died Mary Godwin Shelley (at the age of fifty-three) and Mrs. Augusta Leigh (at the age of sixty-nine). It is a sobering thought that in 1851, had they survived to be noticed by Professor Dodds, Shelley would only have been fifty-nine and Byron sixty-three. What would *they* have made of the Great Exhibition?

This book is a rich mixture of the excellent, the good, the indifferent and the bad—but, then, so also was the “Age of Paradox.”

University of Birmingham, England

JOHN A. HAWGOOD

HISTORY OF *THE TIMES*. Volume IV, THE 150th ANNIVERSARY AND BEYOND, 1912–1948. Part I, Chapters I–XII, 1912–1920. Part II, Chapters XIII–XXIV, 1921–1948, Appendices and Index. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. xvi, 534; 535–1182. \$14.00.)

THE final volume of the impressive, indeed overwhelming, official history of the London *Times* appears seventeen years after the first, bringing to a close an unusual task of historical investigation. Authorship is attributed to the hard-working and anonymous “Companionship” of Printing House Square; they have maintained the candor and amplitude of explanation that characterized earlier volumes. (See *AHR*, XLI [January, 1936], 338; XLV [January, 1940], 388; LIII [July, 1948], 806.)

This one is dominated by Lord Northcliffe, who died in 1922. More than three fourths of the pages are used before that year is passed, and some of them are amazingly full of dramatic mystery and suspense. The long and willfully obscure struggle of “the Chief” with “the office” is indeed taken by the authors as of central significance, for it involved not only the question whether the paper should for a time be under the dictatorship of this particular Napoleonic figure but whether the world uniqueness of *The Times* as a national organ could be retained in a new and revolutionary century. In the long run no editor, however supported by the *Times* tradition and documentary safeguards, could stand up against this proprietor. Northcliffe, slowly, was winning, and in fact did use *The Times* to a degree in the creation of public opinion and the carrying on of his own vendettas. Furthermore, he probably saved it from death by malnutrition. But in the end *The Times* escaped by the miracle of Major Astor's £1,580,000. That the paper was still a political force is indicated by a price vastly inflated over anything a commercial investor could have considered.

The Times since 1922 has been organized as an institution not as a property

and was thus free to return to the great tradition of Barnes, Delane, and the nineteenth-century Walters. But the reaction after Northcliffe was too sharp. Wickham Steed, who had thundered like a second Barnes, was dismissed, and Geoffrey Dawson, whom Northcliffe had pushed out, returned for a second innings lasting until 1941. The new editor was experienced, imbued with the *Times* tradition, and given a free hand. Yet in a sense his was personal journalism as much as Northcliffe's and the authors point out, firmly though gently, that this intimate friend of Baldwin, Chamberlain, and Halifax did little for his country or for *The Times*. "The general sense of the people was to be trusted; and the elected Government, Conservative or National, was to be given general support, and the King's Ministers were always to be given fair play. As it turned out, the electorate was not sensible, statesmen were not wise, and *The Times* came near to abdicating its function of leadership" (p. 999).

There is much of interest, something of importance, in this work. It tells much about how England was governed in the past generation. As in the preceding volumes, foreign affairs and the domestic concerns of the paper occupy nearly all attention. The relations of politicians with the press are demonstrated by letters from otherwise inaccessible sources. Lloyd George and Milner may be taken as examples of statesmen, Ireland in 1920-22 and the abdication of Edward VIII of subjects, on which valuable information is made available. The reviewer is, however, slightly distressed at what seem to him certain defects. The organization of material seems at times to have got out of control. "The Problem of America" not only goes from 1865 to 1918 but fails to define what the problem was and is by no means balanced by adequate material after 1922. The ninety-page chapter on "Peace Making" goes to November 11, 1918; for the Paris Peace Conference and later events one must go to "Northcliffe *v.* the Editor" and other chapters, sorting out the pieces within them as best one may. On technical matters too there is room for criticism, and we occasionally look back to the days when *Times* proofreaders were fined for errors. The index, in many respects very informative, is far from impeccable, and some readers would gladly trade the lists of press honors (p. 1129) and principal ministers (App. IV) for tabulations of staff and foreign correspondents or even a circulation figure later than 1922. In sum, however, a great tradition is bravely upheld; it seems that as long as there will be an England there will be *The Times*.

Clark University

HENRY DONALDSON JORDAN

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD IN THOUGHT AND ACTION: AN ARCHITECT FOR A BETTER WORLD. By *Benjamin Sacks*, Professor of History, University of New Mexico. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1952. Pp. xviii, 591. \$8.00.)

IN the British labor movement Ramsay MacDonald was long regarded as "The Man of Tomorrow" and "Labour's Man of Destiny," but the tragedy and betrayal

of 1931 brought an equally wide revulsion of feeling. As both approaches obscure his real contribution, the author of this book endeavors to provide, mainly in MacDonald's own words, material for a better assessment of it.

The five major sections deal with MacDonald's utterances on politics, social problems, industry and finance, imperialism, and international relations. Upon all of these topics he wrote and spoke voluminously; here the bibliography of his books, pamphlets, and other major writings is nearly nine pages long. This vast body of material has been painstakingly searched, sifted, and placed under appropriate subtopics. The result is MacDonald in thought and print, however, rather than MacDonald in action; there is little on such topics as cabinet making in 1924, relations with Arthur Henderson during the Geneva Disarmament Conference, or the breach with his party in 1931, but evidently nothing of consequence ever published has been overlooked. This does not make for easy vacation reading, but the quotes and paraphrases are here in great sufficiency on most of the issues of the day. The emphasis falls on the period before 1924; the responsibilities of office and leadership thereafter resulted in less miscellaneous writing.

These materials explain why MacDonald gained and held his ascendancy over the Labour party. The incoherence and obscurity of language that accompanied his physical decline are in strong contrast to the clarity of analysis and presentation of the earlier productive years. This self-taught but well-read and traveled man made serious studies of such problems as proportional representation, the referendum, legal minimum wage, compulsory arbitration, and imperial preference that were scholarly treatises; the vague and resounding generalities of the later MacDonald were conspicuously absent. These excerpts emphasize his loyalty to political democracy; he was not tempted by totalitarian shortcuts to utopia, to desert the state for syndicalism, or to encourage direct action as the ordinary way of securing quick returns. In 1911 he warned that a general strike would be dangerous and ineffective, and again in 1920 he said: "Get the proper Parliament and 'direct action' is unnecessary" (p. 244). Such advocacy did much to keep the British Labour party evolutionary and constitutional.

The excerpts reveal an outlook consistently moderate and realist. He hoped and worked for peace, but in wartime he was neither a nonresistant pacifist nor a peace-at-any-price man. He strove to build international machinery and worked for agreed disarmament, but after the rise of Hitler supported defense and rearmament. He opposed intervention in Russia but condemned the Bolshevik overthrow of the Georgian republic and vigorously resisted the Communist penetration of the British labor movement because "they were . . . signed, sealed, and delivered mind, body, and soul to accept whatever instructions they got from Moscow" (p. 531). On the British Empire he was neither a jingo nor a Little Englander. He took pride in the great Dominions and for the backward colonies he saw the need and opportunity for a planned transition to cultural and political maturity; it was good for Britain to undertake the mission of preventing human suffering, spreading civilization, and sponsoring constitutional advance. His political modera-

tion included a readiness to compromise on the tactical level; perhaps it was this characteristic that in 1931 induced him to accept a break with his followers so easily. Be that as it may, the author is justified in his hope that his studies will provide some basis for a balanced view of MacDonald.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

LE GRAND CARNOT: DE L'INGÉNIEUR AU CONVENTIONNEL, 1753-1792. By *Marcel Reinhard*. [Figures du passé.] (Paris: Hachette. 1950. Pp. 354.)

THIS is the first volume of a biography of Lazare Carnot, here called the "great" to distinguish him from his brother and his descendants. M. Reinhard is thoroughly at home in the period. He has served in Carnot's branch of the army, the Engineers, and he has explored the personnel records and other materials in the archives of the Ministry of War. The quality and extent of the work, together with the importance of the subject, probably make it the most significant piece of basic research in French Revolution studies since that of Godechot and Labrousse in the 1930's.

There is, says the author, a "Carnot question." Was Carnot "the sage, the moderate, the pure soldier that a somewhat hagiographic tradition has offered to posterity? Or was he, on the contrary, a revolutionary in the fullest meaning of the word, resolved upon the most radical transformations by the most violent methods?" The answer, brought in this volume down to the birth of the republic in September, 1792, is given with depth, insight, balance, and abundant human detail.

We are clearly shown how Carnot's ideas were remarkably conservative on all purely military questions at issue at the end of the Old Regime. He doubted the value of firepower, was skeptical of the war of movement as preached by Guibert, favored a purely defensive strategy, insisted on the value of fixed fortifications, and objected to creation of "divisions" as units of combined arms. On all these matters the war that began in 1792 was to prove him mistaken.

On other questions Carnot discovered, at an early age, that he was no conservative; and, indeed, we seem to follow in this book, not merely the first forty years of Lazare Carnot but the very type of the frustrated bourgeois, conscious of his own merit, who acclaimed while only partially causing the Revolution. Coming from a family of lawyers and merchants, young Lazare was allowed to compete for a place at the school of military engineering only through the patronage of a neighboring nobleman. The boys in the school were told that some could look forward to high rank, others to more modest though honorable careers—according to birth. Promotion after graduation was slow, and favoritism to nobles was written increasingly into the law. To speed promotion, and to impress the father of the woman he wanted to marry (but never did), Lazare joined with his brother in an attempt to prove the family to be really noble, but the proofs

were rejected (no doubt rightly) by the genealogical branch of the government. He read the *philosophes* and Rousseau, and even learned English and read Thomas Paine, before the Revolution. He developed a certain self-righteousness and dogmatism, which M. Reinhard relates to his mathematical training. He embraced an ideological "republicanism" long before the republic; yet had faith in Louis XVI until the summer of 1792. He early lost all attachment to the Catholic Church.

He would never make a revolution, nor even think of one in advance; but once the revolution came, overturning the persons and institutions against which his resentments had accumulated for thirty years, he greeted the accomplished fact with a sense of exultant liberation, and began actively to resist the return of the old order. The intensity of his bitterness built up before 1789, and the consequent depth of his aversion to any restoration, made him one of the few professional army officers who evolved continuously toward the Left. "His conviction that the Counter-Revolution was more to be feared than the democrats led him to violent declarations, which discredited him in the eyes of the old army, and probably made him pass, in the eyes of the democrats, as more revolutionary than he was" (p. 253). In any case, he was elected to the National Convention, and was well prepared, more by his political understanding than by any demonstrated military talents, to take charge of the turbulent armies of the republic. It is to be hoped that the second volume in this exciting series will soon tell us what happened next.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

ANTOINE LAVOISIER, SCIENTIST, ECONOMIST, SOCIAL REFORMER.

By *Douglas McKie*, Reader in the History of Science in the University of London. [Life of Science Library, Number 25.] (New York: Henry Schuman. 1952. Pp. 440. \$6.00.)

THE reader of Antoine Lavoisier's papers and memoirs is at once aware that he is in the presence of a major figure. Whatever the subject, whether chemical research or popular scientific exposition, economic theory or agricultural practice, financial policy or other problems of public administration, there shines through his pages a rare combination of luminosity of mind and practicality of temper, of energy and self-assurance, of devotion to science and concern for human welfare; and it becomes apparent that Lavoisier was far more than the renovator of chemical science or the stock martyr of intellect to Revolutionary passion: he was one of the most remarkable leaders of eighteenth-century civilization. But he is also one of those figures of the first magnitude whose qualities of mind and personality, if they have not exactly eluded his biographers, have not been communicated by them and do not, therefore, form a part of the historical consciousness even of the historian.

Douglas McKie's book is not the one that will correct this situation. Its

lack of evocative power is particularly unfortunate, because in other respects it is the most satisfactory life of Lavoisier that has yet appeared, and it will supersede all its predecessors, although the serious student will always supplement it with Edouard Grimaux's *Lavoisier* (Paris, 1888), the first full biography. Mr. McKie has a fine scholarly command of the scientific background. He has himself previously published an excellent study of Lavoisier's chemical work (*Antoine Lavoisier* [London and Philadelphia, 1935]), much of which he incorporates into the present book. (It might, perhaps, have been appropriate to indicate that some passages had seen print before.) In addition the reader is given a careful description of Lavoisier's contributions to sciences other than chemistry, of his agricultural experiments, and of his work on the tax farm and the gunpowder commission. Perhaps the most interesting chapters are those dealing with the place of science and scientific institutions, particularly the Académie des sciences, in late eighteenth-century France and their fortunes in the early years of the Revolution.

Mr. McKie's book will be useful to the general historian who wishes to understand something of the chemical revolution in its technical aspects and to the scientist who seeks some comprehension of the environment of French science in the days of its greatness. This, however, does not seem to be the sort of audience to which the book is primarily addressed. As is the case with other volumes on the history of science in the series of which it is a part, the discussion is on so elementary a level that the learned reader, whatever his specialty, will find his patience tried and his attention wandering. But neither is the book skillful enough to attract the interest of the general reader, for whom it seems to be written, and whom it will bore. And worthy in intent though this series on the life of science is, its posture between two stools suggests several questions: whether it is any use for authors to attempt popularizations if they do not possess the special literary gifts required; and whether, admitting that the general reader cannot be expected to have the information of the specialist, it follows that underestimating his intelligence is the way to catch his interest.

Princeton University

CHARLES C. GILLISPIE

DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTE IM ZEITALTER DER MASSEN, VON DER
FRANZÖSISCHEN REVOLUTION BIS ZUR GEGENWART. By *Carl*
Misch. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1952. Pp. xi, 555. DM 19.80.)

AMONG the many, pressing tasks of German historical scholarship at the end of the war none was more urgent or important than the production of a one- or two-volume history of modern Germany that would adequately describe and explain to the generally educated German reader the course events had taken in his country during the past century and a half. Almost eight years have passed and no German historian has yet appeared with a work designed to fill the gap. So it remained for an American historian, though a German-trained one, to

attempt the task, and on the whole Carl Misch, professor of history at Centre College (Kentucky), has succeeded admirably indeed. He has produced, one may say, something very close to the sort of volume that has long been needed.

His book, which covers roughly the period from the beginning of the French Revolution to the end of the Second World War with a perceptive twenty-three-page introduction on the legacy of German history since the tenth century, is not flawless of course. Its emphasis is on the period after 1918, about which the German public doubtless knows the least and to which Misch devotes more than half of his volume, with the result that his treatment particularly of the period from 1789 to the founding of the Bismarckian empire is excessively compressed in places, his account of the Revolution of 1848 especially so. Nor, in fact, is there much that is new in his chapters on the period after 1871; one can read one after another without finding a great deal that has not been known before—until one suddenly recalls that this general history of modern Germany is in German and that no other volume had previously covered the same period from this particular point of view (Ziekursch's fine volumes having gone only to 1918, Arthur Rosenberg's to 1930).

What Dr. Misch is conveying to his German audience, then, is the type of interpretation of German history that is now the generally accepted one in American university instruction. Thus, he recognizes the impotence of the Holy Roman Empire in the last centuries of its existence and the general backwardness of German political life before the French Revolution; he shows the lack of a sense of community and co-operation between Austria and Prussia during the Napoleonic era, which cost both of them dearly; he is aware that as early as 1815 Prussia was politically the most important state in Germany, and that the fate of constitutional government throughout the entire country depended to a considerable extent on the fate of the movement for it in Prussia; he deplores the incompleteness of the Stein-Hardenberg reforms, the failure of the Revolution of 1848, the periods of deadening repression which followed both, as well as the tragic and fateful defeat of the Prussian liberal middle class in the constitutional conflict of the 1860's; he has nothing good to say for Metternich, nor for Bismarck, who he shows was quite unable to erect a stable new order of things in place of the old balance of power he had overturned between 1866 and 1871; he sees William II's erratic, unsettling course at home and abroad for what it was, though he is aware that all the great powers shared in the responsibility for the First World War; he admires the Weimar Republic as an honorable effort, fully cognizant however that internal weakness rather than the world economic crisis cost it its life; and he gives as good a general account as has yet appeared in German of the Nazi tyranny's rise to power, its domestic and foreign policies as well as the coming and course of the Second World War.

Nor is Dr. Misch's book devoted only to political and diplomatic history; it contains numerous sections on economic, social, and intellectual developments, and it never neglects narrative at the expense of biographical detail. He knows

and has mastered a vast body of secondary literature and is very well acquainted with the sources on the most recent past. His work has no serious slips, though any book of this type is bound to have its share of arguable points. It does without footnotes but its appended notes make mention of many of the most important primary and secondary works on modern German history, though not of Jacques Droz's *Le Libéralisme Rhénan 1815-1848*, Rudolf von Delbrück's *Lebenserinnerungen 1817-1867*, and Eugen Franz's *Der Entscheidungskampf um die wirtschaftspolitische Führung Deutschlands 1856-1867*. Misch's style too is all one might wish—terse, concise, continuously alive and interesting.

In all, an excellent performance well deserving of the still wider audience English translation would afford it.

Princeton University

FRANCIS L. LOEWENHEIM

VANGUARD OF NAZISM: THE FREE CORPS MOVEMENT IN POST-WAR GERMANY, 1918-1923. By Robert G. L. Waite, Assistant Professor of History, Williams College. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 344. \$6.00.)

THIS is a most timely book. Not because (in any merely journalistic fashion) it tries to be. But because (in objective scholarship at its best) it does not try to be. It endeavors only to record the history of the Free Corps nationalists in Germany during 1918-23 "*wie sie eigentlich geschehen*," with the broadest documentation thereof yet attempted. In this endeavor, it succeeds so well—it gives us such insight into that earlier "postwar era"—that, as an accidental but most valuable by-product, it also gives insight into certain aspects of contemporary Germany. Not that Professor Waite of Williams would force any analogy; contemporary Germany surely has a far better chance than Weimar did to resist extremist nationalism; but what there is of such nationalism, even though presumably less today than in that proto-Nazi era, is better understood psychologically and historically by reading this book.

If this book were only a compilation of quotations from Free Corps documents—quotations from or about right-wing authoritarians like Schlageter, Ritter von Epp, von der Goltz, Karl Koch, and the still all too active Ernst von Salomon—it would still be an indispensable source for the historian. But Waite not merely discovers and brings together new documents; he also reassesses critically the existing documents and existing assumptions, thereby putting them in a new light and discovering errors overlooked by earlier and less rigorous researchers. He demolishes the claim—made, *inter alia*, in Walter Espe's *Das Buch der Partei*—that Hitler had belonged to the Epp Free Corps in Bavaria. Another example: Waite demonstrates convincingly that von der Goltz "aided and abetted—if he did not personally plan and direct—the coup" of April, 1919, in the Baltic. Von der Goltz himself, and all other German writers of right or left (with the

exception of the unserious Berthold Jacob), had said that von der Goltz had nothing to do with that putsch.

Solid yet condensed accounts of the Kapp coup in Berlin, the Ehrhardt brigade, and the Nazi putsch of 1923 are particularly rewarding chapters. The quotations from these semi-bohemian, semi-militarist adventurers of the Free Corps will outdo the "fat boy" of Dickens in "making your flesh creep," so blunt are they in their rejection of the Christian ethics and Western civilization and in their corybantic prostration before the heathen images of war, bloodlust, and mass murder. For example, the racist freebooter, Manfred von Killinger, is quoted as boasting of his role in the atrocious murders of Erzberger and Rathenau. No wonder Killinger, like so many Free Corps leaders, later became a leading Nazi and was made minister president of Saxony by Hitler. One of Killinger's fellow murderers, F. W. Heinz, defended as follows—the quotation is typical—the sadistic Feme assassinations in the early Weimar era:

The liberal and humanitarian eras were inclined to overestimate the value of human life. . . . The Feme murders . . . represented conscientious deeds of political necessity. . . . If mistakes were made . . . and innocent people killed, that is a question of secondary importance.

Lest anyone think that the Communists were any better than these forerunners of Hitlerism, Waite presents fascinating material to show the close affinity between right and left totalitarianism. While professing to save Germany from communism, the Free Corps leaders privately exulted in the fact that they and the Communists "attacked the same things," above all parliamentary government, ethical restraints, and "weak-kneed moderates." The Free Corps right-wing nationalist Schauwecker in 1928 called Lenin "a great Führer." Hitler himself declared: "There is more that binds us to Bolshevism than separates us from it. . . . Former Communists are to be admitted to the party at once. The petit bourgeois Social Democrat and the trade-union boss will never be a National Socialist, but the Communist always will." Killinger called his gang of "patriotic" assassins "we Bolshevists of the Right." And the above-mentioned Free Corps leader and later Nazi, Heinz, wrote with approval in 1932: "Russia gave the example: Attack! . . . Attack by terror and atrocities! Attack to the point of destruction!" Was not this rightist-leftist totalitarian "point of destruction" finally reached for Europe in the war unleashed by the Hitler-Stalin consummation of 1939?

Mount Holyoke College

PETER VIERECK

SOZIAL-DEMOKRATIE UND NATION: ZUR IDEENGESCHICHTE DER SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHEN EMIGRATION 1933-1938. By *Erich Matthias*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1952. Pp. 363. DM 12.50.)

THE book by Mr. Matthias is the second publication of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich. It is a work of sound scholarship and augurs well for

the future activities of the Institut which also publishes the excellent *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*. In the past, German scholarship has rarely dealt with contemporary political issues or with those of the recent past, and when it dealt with them it did so, to an unusual degree, from a polemical and nationalistic point of view. Thus Friedrich Lenz, who, under the Weimar Republic, became professor in Giessen in 1921, spoke in his work on Marxism in 1924 of "the immorality of the present German state." In contrast it is pleasant to note that *Sozial-Demokratie und Nation*, which seems to be the first book by a young German historian, approaches its subject (which was equally suspect in the Bismarckian Reich and in the Weimar Republic) with an open and unbiased mind. So far very little is known in Germany about the political ideas among the Germans whom the Hitler regime forced into exile. The *émigrés* were mostly single individuals; the only exception was the executive committee of the German Social Democratic party, which functioned as a body in Czechoslovakia from 1933 to 1938. Then, and afterwards in the West, especially in London, Social Democratic leaders had the opportunity to rethink their theories in the light of recent events and to re-examine their past policies. The lively discussions which they then conducted influenced the German Social Democratic party when it could resume its activities in 1945.

The book, which draws on little-known material in socialist periodicals and minutes of meetings, which are hardly accessible anywhere in Germany, will be of value to the student not only of modern Germany but also of nationalism and of Czechoslovakia. The Sudeten German socialist leader Josef Hofbauer demanded in July, 1938, the preservation of Czechoslovakia within the Versailles frontiers. The indispensable reform of the Czechoslovakian state should in no way undermine its unity nor weaken its strength, Hofbauer wrote; for he recognized clearly Czechoslovakia's historical world mission to prevent German imperial expansion over southeast Europe. Prophetically he added: "If this stone were removed from the political structure of Europe, the whole edifice would collapse. The German people too would be buried under its ruins."

Typical German national romanticism was in no way alien to the *émigrés*. Emil Franzel wrote in *Abendländische Revolution* (Bratislava, 1936), that "In no other Occidental people are socialist sentiment and tradition as much alive as in Germany. From Weitling to Gregor Strasser the Germans have been conscious that they must be against capitalism; only in Germany will the idea of a European revolution, going back to the roots, be able to mature." But most of the *émigrés* profited from the democratic climate of Britain, Sweden, or the United States, where they lived, to broaden their political horizon and to learn from the new experiences for their future work in Germany. Some of the present-day controversies were discussed as far back as 1936. Wenzel Jaksch compared the position of Germany between East and West with the position of Europe between the Soviet Union and America and suggested in *Deutschlands europäische Sendung* (Bratislava, 1936) the formation of a unified Europe as a third

force. In the same year Gregor Bienstock in his *Europa und die Weltpolitik* opposed Jaksch, because "no constructive European policy" was thinkable without the United States.

Of contemporary interest might also be the fact that the *émigrés*, in spite of their "passionate hatred of the present regime," rejected war as the way out. In April, 1935, Rudolf Hilferding regarded the fact that the Western Socialist parties did not assume the leadership of the resistance to German rearmament as their historical guilt. He explained their attitude with their dogmatic refusal to face facts while clinging to noble but dated theories. Bitter experience had taught the *émigrés* that, on the basis of theoretical analysis, they had misconstrued human attitudes, because they operated with abstract constructions like the bourgeoisie or the proletariat and thereby lost the possibility of influencing living men in all the diversity of their conditions.

At the end of his interesting book, which should be warmly recommended as an indication of a new trend in German scholarship, Dr. Matthias arrives at the conclusion that after 1933 Social Democratic thought developed toward a regeneration of "political humanism of the Western European type" in the German party. The party came to recognize that "nation" and "class" are not abstract or absolute concepts but historical factors to be viewed differently and realistically according to concrete situations. Dr. Matthias calls the Social Democratic attitude, as it grew out of the rethinking of fundamental assumptions during the years of exile, a "practical humanism." He believes that it conforms to the point of view which the young Marx expressed in 1843 and 1844, before he fell victim to his own dogmatism and messianism.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series D (1937-1945). Volume IV, THE AFTERMATH OF MUNICH, OCTOBER 1938-MARCH 1939. [Department of State Publication 3883.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1951. Pp. lxxxv, 733. \$2.75.)

THE editors of these documents are making good on their stated intention to give us a useful reference series. Knowledge of the personal integrity and professional standing and standards of the men who do the work, and of the conditions of their employment, confirms their unequivocal statement that they have been enjoined to make their selection "only on the basis of the highest scholarly objectivity." The material included is a selection of German Foreign Office documents for the fateful period following the Munich conference of September, 1938, to the liquidation of Czechoslovakia in mid-March, 1939.

First offered is an analytical list of documents, chronologically arranged, with date, document number (for this publication), and the number of the page on which it is printed in this volume. A clear, concise, and accurate summary statement of the character and principal content of each document is given with the

list. The documents themselves are chronologically arranged within eight chapters, one chapter each for relations with Czechoslovakia (286 pages), Britain, France, Italy, the Holy See (11 pages), the Soviet Union (21), the United States (47), and the Far East. In three appendixes are given the table of organization of the German Foreign Office as of February 15, 1939, a list of the German files used, with film serial numbers, and a list of the principal persons mentioned or quoted, with adequate brief biographical identification of each. With each document is given also its own serial number. Footnotes are used for cross-references, references to documents not printed, further identification of individuals or documents, and an occasional editorial correction or other clarification. Great pains have been taken to facilitate the use of this material by the student.

The book will be best used, as intended, as a work of reference. The uninitiated will bog down in it, and the specialist will find more corroborative detail or confirmation of his general knowledge than surprises or material for startling new interpretations. No attempt to summarize such a compendium in a review would justify itself. A few interesting items, however, may be given: State Secretary Ernst von Weizsäcker's postwar efforts to disassociate himself from his former Nazi colleagues and to exculpate himself as to the policies he helped them to promote will gain no new believers in the light of his arrogance and cynicism, so often and so crassly demonstrated here; as, for example, in his "secret" memorandum of November 8, 1938 (No. 349, p. 448), concerning the British-German consultative pact of September 30. The importance of such agreements, he said, lay not in their wording but in the intention of adhering to them and carrying them out. He had shown no such intention.

The Foreign Office was always well informed and frequently well advised by Ambassadors Dirksen and Dieckhoff and their aides as to trends of British and American opinion of Nazi Germany but consistently disregarded their reports as it had disregarded Bernstorff's in 1917. Ambassador Kennedy volunteered (to Dirksen in London, October 13, 1938) to go to Germany to tell Hitler about anti-Semitic tendencies in the United States, which he said were very strong. He hoped then to be able to induce President Roosevelt to view Germany's problems more sympathetically; but Dieckhoff would have none of it. The President, he said, was adequately informed. He was behaving in unfriendly fashion because he was unfriendly. In the field of world opinion, the Nazis considered Roosevelt their most dangerous and inveterate enemy. Their Washington embassy rated Kuhn and his *Bund* as liabilities. Schulenburg reported well the trend of Soviet policy but underestimated the political cohesion of the Soviets and the strength of the Red Army. Hungary jumped the gun in Carpatho-Ukraine (Ruthenia) in 1939 as Poland had barely been restrained from doing in the Teschen area in 1938. Weizsäcker and Ribbentrop were equally adamant in rebuffing every Western move for a guarantee of what was left of Czechoslovakia after Munich, and in calling "intolerable" any further French attempt to influence affairs in eastern or southeastern Europe. A new level in euphemism was achieved by the

OKW in its statement, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the military requirements of an ultimatum to Czechoslovakia, transmitted by Keitel on March 11, 1939, which referred to the German invaders as "the incoming holders of executive power."

Proponents of the revisionist view that "we fought the wrong people" will find less support for their thesis here than those who have agreed all along that we could not do business with Hitler. German officials reporting from Czechoslovakia seemed disappointed by the lack of Czech resistance, which made it difficult for them to provoke the incidents of violence they wanted as pretexts for use of violence.

It is interesting to note that Counselor of Legation Hewel's long account (No. 228: Fg/0070-82, pp. 263-69) of President Hácha's pathetic last "conversation" with Hitler does not mention among "others present" interpreter Paul Schmidt. Schmidt's account (*Statist auf diplomatischer Bühne*, pp. 427-33) although of only equal length, is more complete, circumstantial, and convincing. Hewel does not mention the bullying used to reduce Hácha to abject compliance, or the hypodermic injection needed to revive him sufficiently to enable him to sign the agreement forced upon him.

An OKW memorandum "by order of the Führer and in accordance with his detailed instructions," forwarded by Keitel to Ribbentrop November 30, 1938 (No. 411, pp. 529-32) for Wehrmacht discussion with Italy, contemplated a German and Italian invasion of France and air and sea warfare against Britain. Experimental bombardment of Czech fortifications had shown that the Maginot Line was not impregnable. Gibraltar would be eliminated, France quickly knocked out, and Britain left alone in face of the "whole power of Germany and Italy directed against herself alone." Belgium and "Holland" were expected to be "strictly" and Hungary and Spain "benevolently" neutral, Poland and the Balkans "doubtful," and Russia "hostile"; yet no provision for an eastern front was indicated.

University of Wisconsin

CHESTER V. EASUM

PANZER LEADER. By General *Heinz Guderian*. Foreword by Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. Translated from the German by *Constantine Fitzgibbon*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1952. Pp. 528. \$7.50.)

AMONG the newest additions to the numerous war memoirs to come off the presses since the end of the Second World War is this volume by Germany's ranking tank specialist and combat commander. It provides a partial narrative of some of the great war events, as the author saw and understood them.

As told by the author, there pass in review before us the problems the Germans faced in creating their armored force in the early 1930's; Hitler's career following his incorporation of Austria and the Sudetenland into the Reich in 1938; the

drift to war; and the invasion of Poland in 1939 as the prelude to the ultimate conquest of eastern Europe, which Hitler as well as most of his generals desired. Retold, too—but with the richness of personal experience added—are the dramatic events of 1940: the preparations for the campaign in the West; Hitler's decision to substitute for the General Staff's "Schlieffen Plan" von Manstein's more brilliant plan of campaign of an armored thrust through Belgium and Luxembourg toward Sedan in order to achieve a breakthrough and a splitting in two of the whole French front; the launching of the breakthrough; the drive to the English Channel ports and the escape of the British Expeditionary Force; and the French government's agreeing to an armistice late in June. The narrative then shifts, abruptly, to the year 1941: the invasion of the Soviet Union; the impressive early successes; and the subsequent long and deadly struggle with the Russians to save the German Army and Germany from an opponent whose victory they feared more than anything. To the other important theaters of operations and campaigns—Africa, Italy, the stupendous "Overlord" invasion of France from England in 1944, the strategic bomber offensive, and the naval war—General Guderian makes but passing reference.

The author's preoccupation with the Russian front, to which he devotes by far the greater part of his book, is entirely understandable. It is there that the bulk of the German Army fought. There, too, General Guderian saw most of his active wartime service. Later, as acting chief of the Army General Staff, from July, 1944, to just before the end of the war, he was almost entirely responsible for salvaging that front, at a time when it was "tottering on the edge of an abyss" (p. 340). Guderian failed to save that front and the millions of German soldiers and civilians who were located there. He blames Hitler for it, since Hitler, he contends, refused to heed the advice of the professional soldiers, which might have saved the situation.

Although the book as a whole is notable neither for much new material nor for searching analysis, it does contain some vivid descriptions of the crucial days of November–December, 1941. The German Army Group South (Field Marshal von Rundstedt commanding) was driven from Rostov ("the first ominous sign") and Army Group Center (of which Guderian's own command was a part) was stalled before Moscow. An unusually severe winter had set in, and the frightful conditions of that winter are told with considerable feeling. In 32° below zero weather the German machine guns were no longer able to fire; fuel was freezing in the tanks and the oil became viscous; in order to start the engines of the tanks, fires had to be lit beneath them; casualties from frostbite were heavy, and, to top it all off, the 37mm. antitank gun proved ineffective against the Russians' T34 tank. Suddenly, Germany's front-line commanders had a rude awakening that the Russians had been underestimated and that the Supreme Command, under Hitler's warlordship, had overreached itself. The long-standing breach between the generals and Hitler widened as the war progressed. They opposed him on grounds of strategy—his wastefulness and impulsive methods. General Guderian

belonged to this group, and his encounters with Hitler were not infrequently stormy.

If the book has its high spots so does it have its low ones. It is less an analysis and explanation of contending points of view than a dispute about responsibility for failure. In this regard, the author adds little beyond what is already known from the works of Speidel, Halder, Westphal, and others—generals turned literati. The book is especially wanting in analysis of tank warfare (as well as of warfare with tanks) on the tactical level, to the development of which the author himself contributed so much. In the field in which he is most expert he has contributed the least to our knowledge. General Guderian was for years a disciple of General J. F. C. Fuller, who in the 1930's prophesied that mechanization would result in smaller, not larger, armies. Because he leaned too heavily on his intellectual mentor and because, like virtually every specialist, he was convinced of his own infallibility, he may have contributed in no small way to Germany's military difficulties in the war.

The contribution General Guderian makes to the store of war literature should prove of interest to the student of the specialist mind and of the author's own personal career. It is of less interest as a study and analysis of German strategy and tactics. A comprehensive synthesis of these problems still awaits, therefore, the pen of the professional historian without an axe to grind and with a knowledge of, and feel for, the art and science of modern warfare.

Norwich University

ALBERT NORMAN

MOSKAUS WEG NACH EUROPA: DER AUFSTIEG RUSSLANDS ZUM EUROPÄISCHEN MACHTSTAAT IM ZEITALTER FRIEDRICHS DES GROSSEN. By *Walther Mediger*. (Brunswick: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1952. Pp. xv, 744. DM 28.)

Dr. Mediger's book comprises ten chapters on European diplomatic history between 1710 and 1758 with an emphasis on the years after 1740, and with special reference to the northern sector of the region which traditionally had belonged to France's *barrière de l'est* erected against the Habsburgs. It was on this quarter that Peter the Great had encroached, and the preservation of Peter's work, i.e., of Russia's continued communion with the culture of western Europe, demanded an active Russian foreign policy in this area. This was well understood by most eighteenth-century statesmen in the West, who, as circumstances might dictate, either tried to make use of Russian power to exert pressure favorable to their ends, or endeavored to bolster the barrier against it, sometimes even seeking a radical solution to the Russian problem by casting the Russians out of their Baltic provinces, which, they hoped, would throw them back into barbarism and obscurity. It was generally believed that forces could be found within Russia itself—

especially among the gentry complaining of the burdens of state service imposed on them by Peter—which might contribute toward weakening that country. During the period under discussion for the most part it was the court of Versailles which, in attempting to rebuild the eastern barrier for its last bout with the Habsburgs, sought this solution by, for one thing, aiding Empress Elizabeth to the throne. After 1740 the barrier burst out into an increasingly independent life of its own under the leadership of Frederick the Great. Of the Russian statesmen no one was more aware of the danger to his country than Count Alexis Bestuzhev-Riumin, Empress Elizabeth's chancellor until 1758. Maneuvering through a maze of intrigues and resisting all internal and external pressures to divert his attention to the south, he stubbornly fought the machinations of the French court and of its principal henchman, the Prussian king. In this policy he had the aid of Great Britain: the latter not only dominated the Russian export market, which was its chief source of naval stores, but also sought Russian political aid once France's recovery under Fleury had become obvious. Stated in military terms Bestuzhev's policy implied holding most of the Russian army in Livonia—a difficult feat economically, since supplies locally available there were inadequate. To make up for this deficiency Bestuzhev succeeded in extorting financial assistance from Great Britain, which culminated in the Anglo-Russian subsidy treaty of 1755. However, the laxity of Russian military performance in the War of the Austrian Succession contributed to the decision of the British statesmen to conclude the Westminster convention of 1756 with Prussia.

One of the reasons why British cabinets had striven to obtain Russian military aid was the need to afford some protection to Hanover, which was menaced both by the French and by Frederick. In the hitherto insufficiently explored Hanoverian archives Dr. Mediger found much material for the most interesting parts of his book. His treatment of the Hanoverian ministers' relations with their English opposite numbers—for example, Bernstorff and Stanhope, or Münchhausen and the duke of Newcastle—is a valuable complement to the works of J. F. Chance and Sir Richard Lodge. One may even overlook the tendency, which crops up here and there, to share in George I's view of Great Britain as an adjunct of Hanover. But it must be said that Dr. Mediger's Hanoverian interest tends to obscure certain important elements in Russian foreign policy: for instance, he pays too little attention to the role of the Holsteinian connection, all but ignores Russo-Polish relations, and does not analyze fully enough the nature of the alliances between Vienna and St. Petersburg after 1726. There are some serious lacunae in the printed sources used: to mention only a few, Volumes I, V, and XIII of Martens' *Recueil des traités* (Austria, Prussia, France) are neglected, as is M. Polievktov's work on the Baltic question after 1721; strangest of all is the use of S. Platonov's high school textbook rather than of his university lectures as a source on Russian history.

Dr. Mediger is at his best in his clear narrative of the course of countless and

intricate negotiations; he thus supplies a diplomatic commentary to the first part of Professor D. Gerhard's *England und der Aufstieg Russlands*. In this connection it is most regrettable that he has chosen to do away with footnotes, substituting for them brief bibliographical summaries at the end of the book. Not only is the precise date of every step and the nature of every source essential for evaluating a description of diplomatic negotiations, but doubts may arise as to which statements are based on documentary evidence and which are not. Such is especially the case when Dr. Mediger deals with the "demoniac" policy of Bestuzhev, who is his *bête noire*, and at whose door he lays every crime imaginable, with the exception of venality which is commonly ascribed to him by the German historians who take Frederick II's word for it. The over-all picture of the dour chancellor is not very convincing: thus on the one hand he is able to persuade his opponents at a council meeting by forceful reasoning, but on the other hand it takes the pen of the Saxon diplomat Funcke to express in clear political notions of the West the "dull incoherent thoughts of the Russian." Dr. Mediger cannot conceive that Bestuzhev's ideas of balance of power and his condemnation of the "apoplectic king of Prussia" could have stemmed at least in part from the Newtonian world view which many of Peter's followers had absorbed in the West. Instead he sees in it an evidence of his "static mentality" ("*statisches Lebensgefühl*"), which is part and parcel of his being a Muscovite of the old school, though one endowed with will power. This assumption accounts for the strange use of the term "Moscow" in the title of the book.

Generally speaking, in his analysis of cultural currents Dr. Mediger is a prisoner of clichés and preconceived notions, which are particularly apparent in his interpretation of Russian history. For example, he bases his "static mentality" argument on an account of the Josephian ecclesiastical isolationist school of thought, which had arisen in Moscow at the end of the fifteenth century, partially triumphed in the middle of the sixteenth, and completely collapsed in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Not only does he fail to note its early demise, but sees in it a clue to understanding Russian life in the eighteenth century. Thus the fact that Bolotov, a squire brought up on a Russian translation of Fénelon's *Télémaque*, came to have religious doubts when he later fell under the spell of the literature of the Enlightenment and then overcame these doubts with the aid of reading Crusius, means that he lacked originality and self-reliance and at bottom adhered to the world view of Filofei, a monk of the early sixteenth century; that he disliked service in an active regiment is one more proof to Dr. Mediger of the same tie to Filofei; how different would have been the attitude of a contemporary westerner "who could find only in war, with its opportunities for deeds of renown, the fulfillment of his existence," exclaims Dr. Mediger. Many more examples of this kind of reasoning could be adduced. In short, the author's powers of analysis and interpretation lag behind his skill as a narrator.

University of California, Los Angeles

ANDREW LOSSKY

THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION, 1917-1920: A STUDY IN NATIONALISM. By *John S. Reshetar, Jr.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. x, 363. \$5.00.)

THIS is a scholarly work of very high quality. The author has every reason to be proud of his achievement. He has unlocked a vast treasure of historical knowledge with great relevance for the present. Certainly all students of Eastern Europe, of Communism and the Soviet Union, and of modern nationalism, should be thoroughly familiar with his findings. Here one discovers the Ukrainian people.

Reshetar's study consists of six long, detailed, fact-crammed chapters, and a brief final chapter, entitled "In Retrospect," which is interpretive. The first chapter traces the origins of cultural and political nationalism in the Ukraine prior to the March revolution of 1917. Particularly interesting are the materials regarding early Ukrainian political parties and the activities of Ukrainians in the Dumas. The chapter also brings out the folly of the stifling of Ukrainian culture by imperial Russia. The role of the Galician Ukrainians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire is interestingly introduced in this chapter.

Chapters two and three deal with the rise and fall of the liberal Rada government in the period from March, 1917, to April, 1918. With strict impartiality, though with undisguised sympathy for Ukrainian nationalism, the author weaves his way skillfully through this confusing period. We watch the moderate socialist Ukrainian nationalists seeking to keep their weak state alive in the face of Bolshevik subversion and trickery, German bullying, the indifference of the Ukrainian peasants and Russified bourgeoisie, and the indifference or hostility of the local minorities, Russians, Jews, and Poles.

Chapter four, on the Hetmanate, under the conservative General Paul Petrovich Skoropadsky, is a masterpiece of objective historical writing. Reshetar obviously prefers the Rada regime to the Hetmanate but gives the latter credit for its achievements in Ukrainization of education and praises Skoropadsky for continued interest in the national cause while in Austrian and German exile.

Chapters five and six deal with the incredibly complicated and tragic period after Germany's collapse, and the Hetman's flight in December, 1918. As under the Rada, Vinnichenko and Petliura, especially the latter, dominated this period. With Germany gone, Bolshevism growing stronger, and the Western Allies ignorant and confused, the Directory regime was doomed. This was a period of sordid politics and horrible Jewish pogroms, but also of courage and devotion. Reshetar shows how powerful were the national and social handicaps facing the short-lived Ukrainian state. Especially valuable is the material bringing out the differences between the firmly nationalist Galicians and the less nationally conscious, socialist and liberal East Ukrainians.

The author apparently believes that Ukrainian nationalism has progressed, despite Bolshevik suppression, since its days of heroic immaturity. One hopes that

he will test this belief by writing a history of the Ukraine under Soviet domination. No one could do a better job.

Yale University

FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN

Far Eastern History

SIR CHARLES NAPIER AND SIND. By *H. T. Lambrick*, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, Special Commissioner for Sind, 1943-1946. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. 402. \$9.00.)

INDIA's history has long benefited from the work of retired civil servants and military officers. This volume will certainly hold a high place among the increasing number of similar studies which will be written during the next generation by officials whose Indian careers ended in 1947. Equipped with an exhaustive knowledge of Sind and its inhabitants, Mr. Lambrick has brought to the study of its conquest in the 1840's qualities which no purely academic scholar, however skilled and objective in weighing the evidence, could possibly acquire. Such familiarity with relevant materials in Indian languages as is shown here is rare indeed, even among British authors who have seen service in India. The book is a carefully documented narrative of events in Sind, 1842-47, introduced by an essay on the relevant geographical, ethnographical, and historical background which could well stand by itself, and should be read by anyone approaching any problem connected with Sind at the present day.

Though this is not a biography of Sir Charles Napier, he is, perforce, nearly always at or near the center of the stage. Mr. Lambrick's method is to let the facts speak for themselves, and the Napier that emerges is hardly the hero whom his more famous brother and his apologists tried to create when the controversy in Parliament over the conquest of Sind was at its height. We see a well-intentioned elderly general beloved by his troops, conscious of his own rectitude, certain that the Sind "Amirs" are almost without exception treacherous scoundrels, pathetically confident that a sort of rough-and-ready system of military law and administration makes for the welfare of the peasantry, and apparently unable to understand why his frequently inaccurate reporting and misrepresentations of facts have caused such an uproar at home. This is the man who carries out the process of conquest and annexation in Sind which has long been regarded as the least defensible in nineteenth-century Indian history. On this score, Mr. Lambrick's study makes the story, perhaps not more defensible but more understandable. The reader is made to see more clearly the complexities of the factors involved. Ellenborough, as governor general, and Napier, as the man "on the spot," were to a large extent, as to Sind, prisoners of the situation their predecessors had created. This does not mean they could not have escaped. On all the evidence, a policy other than that of conquest and annexation appears to have been feasible at that time, and Napier must bear the chief responsibility that an alternative course was not fully explored.

Had such a course been followed, the ultimate result—incorporation of Sind in British India—might have been the same, but some at least of the most unpleasant pages of British Indian history need never have been written.

Mr. Lambrick has been perhaps too prone to let the reader judge for himself. More reflection from the author on this episode both as an incident in the spread of British power throughout the subcontinent and as the climax in the career of a general and administrator of no mean ability would have been welcome. The narrative would also have benefited by more attention to those aspects of setting and background which are not exclusively connected with Sind itself. The reader is not made sufficiently aware of the way in which these events presented themselves to Lord Ellenborough as part of the far broader Indian scene. In this connection, it seems strange that Mr. Lambrick makes no mention of the biography of Ellenborough by Albert H. Imlah (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1939).

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

American History

NATURE AND NEEDS OF HIGHER EDUCATION: THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON FINANCING HIGHER EDUCATION. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. xiii, 191. \$2.50.)

FINANCING HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES: THE STAFF REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON FINANCING HIGHER EDUCATION. By *John D. Millett*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. 512. \$5.00.)

THESE two volumes were prepared under the direction of the Commission on Financing Higher Education, an organization sponsored by the Association of American Universities and financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation. The *Nature and Needs of Higher Education* is the report of the commission itself; *Financing Higher Education in the United States* is the staff report, prepared under the direction of John D. Millett. It provides the factual data and an extended discussion of the summary conclusions presented in the report of the commission.

The two books serve quite different needs. The report is a brief but comprehensive analysis of the problems of higher education as a whole with particular emphasis on problems of finance, and it will provide the interested layman with an admirable summary of the issues. The staff report will be of greatest value to the educators themselves, to trustees, and administrators. It is very well done indeed and is, in fact, downright interesting reading. Its value is not in the suggestions it makes for new sources of financing but in its factual material on the costs of higher education in the United States and in its analysis of organizational and

business problems of institutions of higher learning. Based on surveys made especially for the commission, it contains material available nowhere else.

The commission's report itself makes an urgent plea for support of higher education because of what it has meant and can contribute to the material success and moral quality of our society. It points out that of the top twenty-five per cent of the high school graduates in the country, forty per cent do not go to college because they cannot afford it. Increased support for higher education, permitting either lower tuition charges or a far more extensive and generous student aid program is therefore essential if we are to develop the best brains in the nation.

Even to hold their own, however, colleges and universities are seriously endangered, according to the commission, by five common pressures: inflation, expansion of educational services demanded by modern society, fluctuating student enrollments, the need for new plants, and uncertain sources of income.

The commission, therefore, pleads for support from state and local governments, churches, philanthropic organizations, private individuals, and business and industrial corporations. Significantly omitted from this conventional list is the federal government. Indeed, said the commission: ". . . this Commission has reached the unanimous conclusion that we as a nation should call a halt at this time to the introduction of new programs of direct federal aid to colleges and universities." It reached this conclusion because of its belief in the importance of diversity and freedom in higher education and its feeling that federal aid would destroy both.

The commission includes in its report an equally urgent plea to educators to reduce costs, especially by reform of the curriculum. "The greatest extravagance in almost every type of institution from the smallest to the largest lies in the curriculum" (p. 106).

Both the report of the commission and of the staff deserve wide reading, and the staff report on financing higher education ought almost to be required reading by every college president and financial officer in the country.

University of Louisville

PHILIP DAVIDSON

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION. By *Christopher Ward*. Edited by *John Richard Alden*. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. xiv, 475; vii, 477-989. \$15.00.)

THE accident of chronology—and perhaps a few other matters—prevented the late Christopher Ward from emulating Thucydides entirely. Nevertheless, the volumes under review recall those meaningful words of the great Athenian who "wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, beginning at the moment that it broke out, and believing that it would be a great war, and more worthy of relation than any that had preceded it. This belief was not without its grounds." The two historians share other convictions. No more indeed than Thucydides does Ward analyze the causes of the war, though

both refer to the grievances alleged by interested parties and the diverse occasions which precipitated conflict; no less does he attribute many circumstances to fortune. His purpose is clear. "This book is not a history of the American Revolution. It is a history of the war that was caused by the Revolution," the revolution reported by John Adams as having already occurred in the minds of men before the firing of the shot that was heard around the world. "Its aim is to tell the story of the war on land, the campaigns, battles, sieges, marches, encampments, bivouacs, the strategy and tactics, the hardships, and the endurance of hardships. It is purely military in its intention and scope."

It is not too much to say that the author has fulfilled his aim and done so with success. Although at times he has seemed loath to overlook a single musket or to leave anonymous any American soldier above the rank of a corporal, he carries his reader through a bewildering maze of campaigns and skirmishes. His book is a triumph in narration. He has listed the killed, wounded, captured, and missing on each side—estimated or official—from Saratoga and Yorktown to the merest fracas. This, far from tiresome, is most revealing, because the mortality figures for a given battle are minuscule; they remind us too that progress in slaughter is poorly compensated by miracle drugs that enable men to live in order to fight another day. In the famous retreat from Concord, Yankee "sharpshooters" fired 75,000 shots to kill 73 British soldiers and wound 174. Had it not been for the issues involved, the events to come, and the extreme misery of the British soldiers, one might sum up the whole affair as a good time had by all.

The casualty details are matched by others which vivify the battles. Here are no push-button movements of massed troops equipped with every scientific device and assistance but the individual actions of Captain Isaac Davis' company and Corporal Amos Barrett. The whole comprises the sum of innumerable biographies. This is the war as fought by soldiers, reported by contemporaries, and cried over by its victims. Only occasionally does the author take *ex post facto* advantage and scold the principals for not knowing what he does. So often a battle was a tragedy of errors; so often all that was needed to transform humiliation into triumph was a man "to flank a little and carry tidings." A sharp shower would halt the most murderous fray; and even when a musket would shoot, the safest place was a few yards in front of it. Orders failed to reach their destination, were misinterpreted, disregarded, even disobeyed when they did get through. Soldiers often quit fighting at a trivial ebb of fortune; commanders holed up at the slightest excuse. Neither patriotism on one side nor discipline on the other could overcome self preservation for long. It was after all a war of the moment, and its administration could scarcely be anything but tardy and contradictory.

This does not prevent our author from distributing censure or praise when the occasion warrants. In summing up the Long Island disaster, he finds it "impossible to avoid placing the bulk of the responsibility for the mismanagement of affairs . . . upon the shoulders of the commander in chief, George Washington." The stupendous losses at Fort Washington he attributes to Greene's "inexplicable

infatuation in attempting to hold the fort" and to Washington's vacillation and indecision. Time and again, however, these men and others are singled out for high praise—Washington's masterly recovery after defeat, Greene's strategic genius in the southern campaign, Morgan's insight and sense, Montgomery's character and skill. The British commanders receive the same balanced treatment. Indeed not the least of this book's values are the excellent personality vignettes. In a paragraph the author has shown us the leaders, not merely the commanding officers but the colonels and brigadiers, on both sides; and his miniatures bear the stamp of truth. Thus this work lines up as old-fashioned history. It deals with men, men in battle, and does so in narrative form; it is not an exposition of movements, tendencies, and imponderables. The author has concentrated on the *what*; and after so many geysers of ill-founded *why* and *how* he makes good reading. For those readers who are interested he has an excellent bibliography and impressive citations. Alongside the author we must remember the editor. If he has been no more than obstetrician, his safe and sound delivery of these twin volumes entitles him to more consideration than he awards himself in his pleasant preface.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. By *Curtis P. Nettels*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. 338. \$5.00.)

THIS book reviews the year preceding the Declaration of Independence, with special emphasis upon the role of George Washington in the movement for separation from Great Britain. It marks a swing back to the older view of Beveridge that "Washington was the Government; Washington was the Revolution."

That Washington was not a conciliationist and that he was in the front ranks of those favoring a break with Britain are propositions solidly supported by the evidence Professor Nettels marshals. The author underscores Washington's role in opposing the Stamp Act, lays stress on the cancellation of Washington's Great Kanawha grant; credits him with the Fairfax Resolves, with the nonimportation program, and with the organization of military resistance in Virginia. In addition, he has brought together significant data on the efforts of Washington to advance the movement for independence within the states.

In his effort to give Washington his due the author is perhaps less than generous in recognizing the contributions of other patriots as well as the role of Congress. Washington was certainly less than infallible in his judgment about other generals. In opposing a negotiated peace he took a position that many members of Congress strongly held as well. It seems straining the evidence to give Washington credit for initiating the Silas Deane mission, with only the barest passing reference to Robert Morris, and this on the basis of a letter from Washington's amanuensis, Stephen Moylan, proposing that Deane be sent to Spain.

Professor Nettels' account of England on the eve of the conflict is less balanced and persuasive than his analysis of the mobilization for war in America. It has

been the fashion of some recent writers to stress labor unrest in England, but few have gone so far as the author, who asserts that "the violence, confusion, and street fighting of that time suggest the wildest scenes of the French Revolution." The most serious incident, the Gordon Riots, was prompted by religious bigotry rather than social injustice and, unlike the mob violence in France, strengthened rather than weakened the position of the crown.

The author sees the England of George III as a sink of iniquity. This is in the good old Whig tradition, and no one would now deny the extent of political corruption in the mother country. But the issues were hardly as black and white as Dr. Nettels paints them. What he does not seem to realize is that Englishmen of standing not infrequently referred to the colonists as degenerate (see, e.g., *Town and Country*, September, 1773) and that British generals considered them effeminate. This readiness to impute the worst to other nations without subjecting our own motives and behavior to rigorous self-criticism is a form of myopia unfortunately not always confined to a period as remote as the American Revolution.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

THOMAS MIFFLIN AND THE POLITICS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Kenneth R. Rossman*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 344. \$5.00.)

Scion of a substantial Quaker family, Thomas Mifflin was a successful Philadelphia merchant. As member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and of the Continental Congress he was in the forefront of resistance to current British policies. Well to do, socially well established, handsome, energetic and eloquent, Mifflin played an important part in rallying support to the patriot cause. When hostilities broke out and he himself donned a uniform he was equally successful in arousing the martial ardor of recruits. Bearing himself with distinction as a field officer insofar as he was afforded opportunity to serve in this capacity, Mifflin accepted with some reluctance the office of quartermaster general, for which his achievements as merchant and soldier seemed to qualify him, but the duties of which were doubtless too prosaic for his mercurial temperament. At all events he was accused of maladministration and resigned his office under a cloud, though the charges against him were never pressed home. During the grim winter of 1777-1778 he became involved to a degree never clearly determined in the rather nebulous conspiracy known as the "Conway Cabal" which is presumed to have had as its purpose the supplanting of Washington by Gates. Upon leaving the army Mifflin was elected first to the state legislature and then to Congress. As president of the latter body it was his somewhat ironic fate to receive his late commander's commission when Washington surrendered it in 1783. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention and was governor of Pennsylvania from 1790 to 1799. Somewhat conservative in local politics, he was a Republican on the national scene, and the support that he received transcended party lines. His record as

governor was that of a man of declining capacities. He showed spirit and energy upon occasion, but toward the end neglected his duties flagrantly. Yet he retained throughout a remarkable ascendancy over the electorate.

Although a figure of secondary stature in an age which produced eminent men, Thomas Mifflin is quite worthy of a biography. Yet there are respects in which the present volume is disappointing. One would like to receive a much clearer impression of the tasks which confronted Mifflin as quartermaster general and of the degree of competence and integrity with which he handled them. One would wish for a greater clarification of the nature of the admittedly baffling Conway Cabal and of Mifflin's part in it. After insisting, quite reasonably, upon the propriety of seeking the replacement of a supposedly incompetent commander by one better qualified, the author proceeds to defend his hero, as if from a crime, from the suspicion of having attempted anything of the sort. He thus perpetuates the traditional treatment of the Cabal which he starts out by deploring. The part of the book dealing with Mifflin's political career following 1778 impressed this reviewer as being the best done, though here as elsewhere the colorful, equivocal character of Mifflin fails to stand out. The author has been seriously handicapped by the lack of Mifflin's private papers, yet the work of others in contiguous fields suggests that the possibilities offered by available materials have not been exploited to the limit. Perhaps the fairest judgment is that this study has been printed before it was ready for the press. Style and organization might have been improved, ambiguous statements eliminated, and interpretation deepened and focused had the manuscript been more carefully processed.

University of Pennsylvania

LEONIDAS DODSON

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume I, HISTORY. Compiled with Annotations by *E. Millicent Sowerby*. (Washington: Library of Congress. 1952. Pp. xv, 562. \$5.00.)

AMONG the projects proposed by the Library of Congress for the Jefferson Bicentennial was the publication of the catalogue of the library of Thomas Jefferson purchased in 1815, to replace the original Library of Congress destroyed in 1814 in the burning of the Capitol. The first volume of the intended publication has just appeared after a delay of ten years. It will shortly be followed by three more volumes of the catalogue proper and one final volume containing indexes and "short biographical notes on the persons mentioned in the annotations." Jefferson's rough estimate "of between nine or ten thousand volumes" was reduced to 6,479 when the transfer was made. Of those, approximately two thirds were destroyed in the fire of Christmas Eve, 1851; some disappeared, as books were bound to disappear in those days of easy-going librarians; those that remained were distributed following the classification of the Library of Congress, without any indication of their origin. They are now being reassembled so as to reconstitute the

Thomas Jefferson Library as a separate collection. The task assumed by Miss Sowerby, "bibliographer" in charge of the project, with the assistance of several departments of the Library was enormous. The manuscript catalogue handed over by Jefferson has been lost, although the *Catalogue of the Library of the United States*, printed in 1815, may be considered as reproducing in the main the clear copy handed over by Jefferson himself. To check and verify the various entries of the 1815 catalogue one had to resort to various lists of books established by Jefferson at different times and particularly to the so-called "1783 catalogue" which he started when his collection contained only 2,640 titles, but in which he listed new acquisitions, often indicating the price and origin of the books. Only those who have struggled to decipher these faded pages, much written over, often in a microscopic handwriting, can appreciate the difficulties that confronted the bibliographer.

The present publication restores the classification established by Jefferson himself following Bacon's system, namely, three main divisions: History, Philosophy, and Fine Arts, corresponding to the three "Faculties of the Mind"—Memory, Reason, Imagination—with subdivisions according to the subject matter. The first volume of the new catalogue deals with the first division, History, and lists 1,237 volumes. The entries include the title of the book as listed in the "1783 catalogue," with reference to the 1815 catalogue, the complete title and description of the copy, the date and cost of the accession, quotations from Jefferson's letters pertaining to the book, Library of Congress numeration whenever the copy has been preserved, and short notices of the authors. These annotations required so much "time, industry, perseverance and expense with some knowledge of bibliography," to reproduce the words of Jefferson himself, that one hesitates to present some reservations. One curious mistake will be found in the reading of "prevue" for "preuve" (p. 382). If the bibliographer has found the exact date of the birth of Morelly given as 1769, although the book listed under his name (p. 88) bears the date 1755, she has done more than a score of historians who have vainly attempted to obtain any biographical data on the mysterious author of *Le Code de la Nature*. Those are only trifles, hardly worth mentioning. A more disturbing feature of the catalogue is the total absence of references to the extracts of many books made by Jefferson in his various "commonplace books." The method observed in writing the short notices on the authors does not seem very consistent. Some are comparatively extensive and quite informative; others are so brief as to be useless or worse, as for instance, "Tacitus, c. 55-120. Roman historian," or Voltaire, "French philosopher, dramatist, historian and man of letters." It might have been better in such cases to adopt the same system as for "Caius Julius Caesar" whose dates are given without any characterization.

The printing of the volume required considerable technical talent. The Government Printing Office has acquitted itself nobly of this very heavy responsibility. It is a joy, in an age when all sorts of substitutes for honest and dignified printing

are advocated, to have a government agency adhering to the great tradition of the master printers. The catalogue will be constantly used by the students of Jefferson; it will be treasured by all the book lovers.

One will have to wait for the completion of the publication to attempt to estimate in what measure this extraordinarily rich collection reflects the mind of Mr. Jefferson. To a certain degree the treasure it took him "more than fifty years" to assemble expresses his idea of what should be a complete library for the use of Americans and more particularly of American statesmen, and not his personal tastes and distastes. The key is given in the letter he wrote to Samuel H. Smith, on September 21, 1814. It might well have been reproduced at the beginning of the catalogue as a proper introduction.

Princeton University

GILBERT CHINARD

VIRGINIA'S MOTHER CHURCH AND THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH IT GREW: THE STORY OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN VIRGINIA, 1727-1814. Volume II. By *George MacLaren Brydon*, Historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia. (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society. 1952. Pp. x, 688.)

IN 1941 George MacLaren Brydon, now historiographer of the diocese of Virginia of the Episcopal Church, published a pamphlet, "New Light upon the History of the Church in Colonial Virginia," in which he pointed out that the two outstanding writers in the past upon the history of the church in Virginia, Dr. Francis L. Hawks and Bishop William Meade, needed to be corrected in their interpretations by the evidence of later discovered records. Hawks's book was published in 1836, and Meade's in 1857. This task was undertaken by Dr. Brydon. His first volume, published in 1947, covered the period 1607-1727 (see *AHR*, LIII [July, 1948], 833). The second volume, the subject of this review, covers the years from 1727 to 1814. A third will bring the story down to the present.

In this second volume, Dr. Brydon traces the development of organized religion in Virginia during that intensely interesting period covering most of the eighteenth century and a part of the nineteenth. Along with his account of religious conditions, he manages to throw a fresh light on the growth of the Old Dominion from the settlements in tidewater to the hills and plains of the Piedmont, to the valley, and over the mountains to the vast West, originally a part of Virginia.

Though the author is, of course, concerned primarily with the history of the Episcopal Church, yet in many respects his greatest contributions, and the most interesting, are found in his descriptions of the rise and rapid growth of the newer and more democratic churches, the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and of the Lutheran, and of their influence on the "Mother Church."

Beginning with a description of religious conditions in England under the Hanoverian kings, followed by a restatement of political conditions in Virginia in

the early eighteenth century, Dr. Brydon describes the organization of religion among the western settlers then flooding into the colony, gives an excellent picture of the Great Awakening, and a fresh interpretation of the celebrated Parson's Cause, that landmark which did so much to prepare Virginians for the epochal movements in America between 1760 and 1776.

The church in Virginia was disestablished in 1779 by the General Assembly, acting under the democratic impulses of the times and in response to pressure from the Presbyterians and from the newer denominations. Then followed the campaign to sequester the property of the formerly established church, fought out in the Assembly from 1784 to 1802, which is the subject of the two last chapters of the book, "The Seizure of the Glebes" and "A Question of Justice." Bishop Meade, writing near the end of his life, while declaring his conviction that the seizure of the church's property was an unconstitutional act, affirmed that the loss of the physical property was for the best interests of the church of the future.

It can hardly be doubted [Dr. Brydon writes] that the great majority of the clergymen who were loyal to the American cause approved in principle the separation of church and state under the new conditions of independence, and accepted the change of source of salary from state taxes to voluntary contributions as part of the price they were willing to pay as their share in establishing the new ideal of democratic government. Nor can we doubt that the members of the General Assembly themselves, almost all of whom were members of the Established Church, were fully determined that the clergy should not be permitted to suffer by reason of the change in the method of salary payment.

Whether this be true or not, Dr. Brydon raises serious question in his last chapter about the justice of the act.

The value of this book not only for the general reader but also for the professional historian is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of nine appendixes, making immediately available a great mass of source material. The bibliography gives clear evidence of the care and diligence of the author in his research. Apparently he has not neglected any material which would throw light on his study of the period.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

THEODORE H. JACK

BEFORE LEWIS AND CLARK: DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE MISSOURI, 1785-1804. In two volumes. Edited with an Introductory Narrative by *A. P. Nasatir*. [Joseph Desloge Fund Publication Number 3.] (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation. 1952. Pp. xv, 375; 376-853.)

OVER a period of twenty-five years Dr. Nasatir has published a series of studies of the frontier of Upper Louisiana under Spain. They have immensely increased our understanding and are the standard authority on the place and period. Now in these volumes he publishes a selection from the documents on which his articles

were based, winnowed from the thousands he has unearthed in a lifetime of archival research. They begin in 1785, with the Spanish officials concerned to learn more about the geography, wealth, and Indian nations of Louisiana and to discover a route to the Pacific. They end with their last successors alarmed by the Lewis and Clark expedition, convinced that the expanding United States will go on to New Mexico, and aware that they are impotent to do anything about it. A great deal has been learned, many misconceptions have been cleared up, but much ignorance and misconception remains and in particular the master error of nearly three centuries, that of underestimating the size of the West, has been only a little reduced.

This book will fructify the work of others for years to come. Yet so excellent were Dr. Nasatir's earlier articles that they established almost the full outline of what is presented here. Nothing that is new in the two volumes necessitates radical revision of the ideas we owe so largely to him; their value is rather the rich abundance of detail they put at the service of scholarship.

Dr. Nasatir prefaces the collection with a long treatise on "The Exploration of the Missouri: 1673-1804." This too at once becomes the standard authority. Yet the first section, "Under the French Regime," is less satisfactory than the other two sections, which cover Dr. Nasatir's specialty. In this section he often declines to take the hazards of critical evaluation that he accepts in the others.

Thus, he scrupulously chronicles all the Frenchmen said or rumored to have reached the Missouri and ascended it early in the eighteenth century, but we need his appraisal of the stories and we do not get it. Nor does he subject the reports of the geography brought back from the interior to the rigorous examination that he applies to similar material later on. Descriptions of geography and of Indian tribes are the most reliable index to the authenticity of such accounts. For this reason one must ask whether it is true that by 1753 the French had "ascended practically every large branch of the Missouri" and "had reached the Rocky Mountains" (p. 55) or whether instead ten years later the French of the Illinois "had not reached a point much beyond the Platte river" (p. 56). Similarly is it true, as Dr. Nasatir gives the impression it is, that the Pawnees who massacred Villasur's party were accompanied by Frenchmen? The reviewer has seen, and Dr. Nasatir's volumes present, no French accounts that convince him they are describing the Rockies, and though Villasur had heard that there were Frenchmen with the Pawnees (and in unlikely numbers) the survivors did not report seeing any.

Again, Dr. Nasatir is better qualified than anyone else to make the almost hopeless but necessary attempt to identify the Indians referred to by early traders and explorers, but frequently he does not and much darkness remains. Are, for instance, the "Ietans" of page 48 the "Laytanés" of page 44? Are they, or either of them, the "Hahitannes" of page 91? Are any of these people, rumored or actually encountered, the Utes whom the name "Ietans" probably designates? If they are, what are Utes doing far outside the Rocky Mountain fastnesses to which,

so most students believe, they carefully confined themselves at this period? Likewise, Dr. Nasatir accepts as authentic the journal of Charles Le Raye, which some students have taken to be a fiction: did war parties of the Brulé Sioux ever reach the Osage River, and why is very little of the country which the journal describes recognizable?

Yet it would be impertinent to ask a mortal man who has only one lifetime to do a job for which two lifetimes would hardly suffice. Within his chosen field, Dr. Nasatir's work will remain the basic study for many years. The reviewer is engaged in amending a good many statements in a recent book of his own, to bring them into accord with Dr. Nasatir's findings.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

BERNARD DeVOTO

THE COURSE OF EMPIRE. By *Bernard DeVoto*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1952. Pp. xvii, 647. \$6.00.)

THIS completes the trilogy of America's westward expansion, which the author has been writing for years. His *Across the Wide Missouri* stresses the mountain men who came after the Spanish, French, English, and American explorers, the *dramatis personae* of the new book. The other volume of the trilogy, *The Year of Decision*, deals primarily with the settlers who followed both mountain men and explorers. Evidently Mr. DeVoto found this book more demanding of time and research than the other two and left it to the last.

It is obvious that he has been reading widely for a long period of time, for, as a rule, his citations utilize the best books and monographs on the explorers of the North American continent. When he had read until he felt he understood the intricate story of Cabeza de Vaca, De Soto, Coronado, Verrazano, Cartier, Perrot, Radisson, Des Groseilliers, Jolliet, Marquette, La Salle, Tonty, Duluth, Hennepin, Lahontan, Kelsey, Le Sueur, La Vérendrye, Carver, Pond, Thompson, and a host of others (and had followed across the continent in their wake in many instances)—then, at long last, he sat down and wrote the story of the explorers with gusto.

The book, in other words, is the saga of the conquest of a continent seen through Mr. DeVoto's very intelligent eyes and reported almost as though the author had been in the canoe or on the sailing vessel with each adventurer into the wilderness. That is to say, he gives his own conclusions where controversies, uncertainties, or ambiguities exist (usually explaining carefully that there is a question of interpretation), and he enlivens this personal textbook of the American frontier of exploration with many obiter dicta.

He has been eclectic to a high degree, choosing this explorer or that one for extended treatment, barely mentioning another, and omitting another altogether. On the whole, nevertheless, the book gives a fair picture of the many explorers of North America and their relative importance. After all, a man must paint the picture as he sees it in his mind's eye.

One of the many excellencies of the book is its numerous maps, placed appro-

privately in the text as a visual guide to the reader. These were prepared by Dr. Erwin Raiz. The index—only ten pages for a book of 635 pages!—is its weakest part. On the other hand, the combined notes and bibliography fill over seventy pages and should be read diligently by teachers of American history.

Thus, in the section of notes appended to chapter vi, he enters the heated La Vérendrye controversy. Too bad that he could not have utilized the very recent manuscript report to the River Basin Surveys of the Bureau of American Ethnology by G. Hubert Smith, which is the best and most up-to-date survey of the whole problem of the Mandan Indians and the routes of the La Vérendrye expeditions. On pages 590–92 Mr. DeVoto deals with Jonathan Carver, and plumps for Carver as against the criticism and insinuations of Mr. Kenneth Roberts (quite rightly in the opinion of her who made Carver's manuscript diaries available to Dr. Kellogg and Mr. Roberts). In the notes to the fourth chapter he shows a grasp of the La Salle problem that is heartening in view of the sentimentality or bias of a concentrated nature characterizing all the biographies of the great explorer, books written without regard to conditions at the court of Louis XIV.

Mr. DeVoto upholds Peter Pond as against Alexander Mackenzie; admires both David Thompson and Lewis and Clark without feeling that he is committing a paradox (his book appeared just as the new Clark manuscripts were found by the Minnesota Historical Society); and laughs uproariously over the "tropical emotion that has created a legendary Sacajawea."

Minnesota Historical Society

GRACE LEE NUTE

THE COMANCHES, LORDS OF THE SOUTH PLAINS. By *Ernest Wallace* and *E. Adamson Hoebel*. [Civilization of the American Indian Series, No. 34.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1952. Pp. xvii, 381. \$5.00.)

To anyone who deals professionally with the tribes and tribal history of the southern plains area, it is surprising that our information on the subject is as nearly complete as it is. There are gaps, to be sure. The problem of the Wichita, Kichai, Tawakoni, and affiliated groups has never been entirely defined, and certainly now can never be solved. And, until recently, there has been no adequate study of the Comanche.

It is a great relief to have this major lack supplied. Messrs. Wallace and Hoebel have worked at firsthand with the Comanches themselves, as well as at second and thirdhand through documentary sources. They have produced a book which gives definite information on the subject of the Comanche occupation of the southern plains, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth.

The relationship of Comanche to Shoshone proper is presented. The linguistic relationship to Hopi and Mono is mentioned but not developed; naturally enough, for ethnologists generally tend to leave linguistic problems to the linguists, who are equipped to deal with them.

Relationship to plains tribes other than Shoshone is more thoroughly and more satisfactorily explained. The Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne-Arapaho axis, on which most of southern plains tribal history revolved, and the intertribal treaties which gave it birth, is the theme of a large portion of the book. For this section alone anyone working with the lives of the tribes of the area has reason to be grateful to the writers.

As could have been predicted, the sections dealing with the nonmaterial phases of Comanche culture are as reliable and substantial as those concerning tribal history. Mr. Hoebel is at his best as a spokesman for Comanche law-ways and their application to internal affairs, and Mr. Wallace has seconded him most ably in the collection of field data. This part of the volume stands comparison with Mr. Hoebel's *The Cheyenne Way*, and that is saying a very great deal indeed.

Unfortunately, it is in the field of material culture that the book falls down. The fact in itself is not surprising: Comanche material culture was, at its richest, sparse, even as compared with the severe simplicity of Kiowa arts and skills. However, the Comanche alone of the plains tribes—so far as I know, alone among tribes west of the Cross Timbers—produced a netted, mosaic type of beadwork. It is the single diagnostic of Comanche material culture and it is immediately recognizable wherever it is found. Certainly it is worth mentioning in a Comanche ethnology.

And it is disappointing, bitterly disappointing, to find the hoary fable about heat-splintered points perpetrated in a serious work. Let it be said, once and for all and for the record, that no Indian ever tried to make points by heating stones and then dropping cold water on them—not more than once. And the blind did not long survive in the rigors of aboriginal culture. Simply, heating and wetting stones will not produce anything but a shower of dangerous splinters. The importance of this statement in a book of this type is that it was probably offered in good faith by an informant with only hearsay knowledge of a stoneworking culture.

These are details, and the nonmaterialist can perhaps be pardoned for committing such errors. One who has lived in the southern plains since childhood and has looked at the flora of the area, however, is inclined to wonder where in that high and arid stretch of grasslands birch trees are to be found for the writing of notes on birchbark. Is it possible that the writers mean sycamore? Or the inner bark of elm or mulberry? Or did some birch trees once stray southward along the Mississippi and establish a brief ecology along its tributaries? This information should be supplied to the reader.

But aside from specialists' quibbling, *The Comanches* is a book that fills a need, and one that will undoubtedly find a place in the libraries of those interested in extending the too brief and incomplete records of the tribes of the southern plains.

Santa Fe, New Mexico

ALICE MARRIOTT

THE WORLD OF ELI WHITNEY. By *Jeannette Mirsky* and *Allan Nevins*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. xvi, 346. \$5.75.)

HERE for the first time Eli Whitney's two great enterprises receive the detailed and understanding treatment they merit. As the authors say, "the major outlines of Whitney's achievements" and his "place in the development of the United States" are already known. It has been their task through a discriminating study of a rich variety of hitherto unpublished family papers "to try to give the full texture and minor relevant facets of Whitney's life and work." Much of this they have done effectively in his own words. Where documents were missing they have filled most of the gaps from other sources or by inferences which on the whole seem consistent with the available facts of Whitney's career and the many specific indications of his character.

The story of the crude cotton gin put together in a few days by the newly arrived Yankee at Mulberry Grove is a familiar one. Nearly half this book is devoted to the rest of that story—the costly and disheartening struggle of Whitney and his partner, Phineas Miller, to exploit their patent. Through an unwise business policy they attempted in effect to establish a monopoly in the processing of green-seed cotton and to exact a price for ginning of two thirds of a pound of cleaned cotton for every pound returned to the planter.

In the face of a hungry market in the British mills and Whitney's inability to meet their demand for gins, the resentful planters fought the "odious monopoly" by open infringement. An ambiguous patent law aided them and brought repeated defeat in the courts to Miller and Whitney.

Not until the South Carolina legislature recognized the patent right and purchased it for the use of the state's inhabitants did the tide turn. Miller was dead but Whitney after eleven years of litigation and financial loss began to realize a modest profit on the mechanical device which fastened the plantation system and chattel slavery upon the South.

The authors give an equally detailed account of Whitney's second venture, the manufacture of small arms for the United States government. The early failure of Miller and Whitney brought deep embarrassment and despair to the latter. But an active mind and a strong desire to create something that would be his own drove him to search for a way to implement his ideas. Speculating upon the problem which had plagued him continually in his development of the cotton gin, he concluded that his only source of adequate financing was the United States government.

One of its major needs at that time was an adequate supply of small arms. Tension with France was mounting and the government's armory at Springfield had in four years produced only 1,245 muskets. When Congress appropriated money for procuring arms Whitney saw an opportunity to apply new techniques of production that would "compensate for the dearth of artisans in America." With a signed contract to supply the government with 10,000 stand of arms and

a Charleville musket for a model, he set about the task of creating tools and machines which would duplicate each part of the musket with an accuracy and uniformity that would make them interchangeable. Unknown to Whitney, men in England were attacking the problems of production in a similar manner, driven by "the same set of economic and industrial imperatives." Sir Samuel Bentham and Marc Brunel had devised a series of machines that made it possible for ten unskilled men to produce annually 130,000 pulley blocks for the British navy—a task formerly requiring 130 skilled craftsmen. But where Bentham and Brunel were aided by the work of Maudslay, Darby, and Wilkinson, Whitney had to bear the full burden of "translating" his principle "into methods and machines." Once this was accomplished the principle spread to other industries much more rapidly in America than in England or France. It developed into an "industrial system" by which cheap clocks, watches, hardware, and sewing machines soon became common articles in the daily life of Americans.

Like so many who have followed him in business and industry, Whitney paid a price for his successes. "Business pressures" took a toll on his health, caused him to neglect family and friends, and to postpone marriage until he was fifty-one.

When more studies of this type have been made we shall better understand the powerful forces generated by technological innovations and the part they play in shaping a society. In the authors' words, "Whitney had not intended to affect the ultimate destiny of the South—but he had; he had not intended to remake the national economy and outlook—but to that, too, he had contributed significantly."

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

HOWARD R. BARTLETT

THE KEYSTONE IN THE DEMOCRATIC ARCH: PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS, 1800–1816. By *Sanford W. Higginbotham*. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1952. Pp. x, 417. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.50.)

WHAT is good historiography? There is no agreement about the matter. In the Aristotelian sense of the word "politics," history is very much past politics. But is an account of early nineteenth-century local party politics good historiography? This volume and several additional volumes on early Pennsylvania party politics involve this problem.

Beyond question, *The Keystone of the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics, 1800–1816*, has highly meritorious features. A doctoral thesis at the University of Pennsylvania under Professor Roy F. Nichols, and published by an able and meticulous commission, it has excellent sponsorship and favorable auspices. It is admirably organized, well written, and splendidly printed. The scholarly research of the author is clearly apparent. The thesis that Pennsylvania Democracy was the keystone of the Democratic arch, 1800–1816, is well established. Little doubt is left that Pennsylvania Democracy was decisive in the presidential elections of

1808 and 1812. The author has accomplished his main objective. He has clearly established that though torn by factionalism and personalism, the Jeffersonians dominated Pennsylvania, 1800 to 1815, and kept the once powerful Federalists in abeyance and beyond return to power.

Special aspects of this volume are highly praiseworthy. The preface, somewhat of the nature of an introduction, is admirable. In spots (e.g., p. 106) the national and international setting is duly considered. The discussion (p. 164) of Jefferson's embargo is enlightening. The Olmsted Case, (pp. 184-94) is well presented. The value of newspaper files as sources of historical data and the influence of journalism in party politics are clearly revealed. And the possibility of locating historical data in widely scattered manuscripts is nicely demonstrated. For the narrow history of political parties in microcosm the volume is a good example.

Yet, in some vague way, the above-mentioned merits are not enough. They seem to be neutralized by a general counterbalancing demerit. Great historiography has always had a great theme. Only significant themes are completely worthy of the time and attention of the general reader. There must, in addition, be significant features of the significant theme. The narrow history of local party politics furnishes neither a significant theme nor subsidiary significant features. Party politics does not operate in a vacuum. Social, economic, and ideological matters are a fundamental aspect of party politics. Thomas Verner Smith has revealed how important politics may be, but party politics as machinery, factionalism and personalism, seems historically like vanity of vanities or much ado about nothing. This volume is not entirely free from such evaluation.

Theoretically books and articles are written for readers. For the convenience of readers, footnotes belong at the bottom of the page. Artistic appearance is relatively extraneous to historiography. Publishers are generally responsible for failure in this matter. They prefer footnotes at the end of chapters or at the end of the volume as in this case.

Freedom from minor defects in a publication is very rare. A few, but very few, such defects appear in this volume. Among them, the statement (p. 4) that the Scotch-Irish in any large area of Pennsylvania outnumbered the English cannot be proved.

To the general reader, this book would be worth not more than the prices stated. But specialists on the history of party politics and on the history of Pennsylvania may find the publication of some value both from the point of view of interest and from that of permanent reference.

University of Pittsburgh

ALFRED P. JAMES

THE DIARY OF GEORGE TEMPLETON STRONG. Volume I, YOUNG MAN IN NEW YORK, 1835-1849; Volume II, THE TURBULENT FIFTIES, 1850-1859; Volume III, THE CIVIL WAR, 1860-1865; Volume IV, POST-WAR YEARS, 1865-1875. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Milton Halsey*

Thomas. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. liv, 391; xiv, 517; xv, 642; xiii, 603. \$35.00.)

THE art of recording a life so vividly that it may be constantly relived by those who follow is a rare one, but it was possessed by George Templeton Strong, and he used it to the full. From the Sunday evening in 1835 when the desire for daily self-record seems first to have possessed this precocious Columbia sophomore it continued in never-flagging intensity during the forty succeeding years of his life and only death stopped the annals.

The diarist lived these two score years in that most vital of American nerve centers, New York City, and within this metropolis he occupied a place of peculiar vantage. His family was of good New York colonial stock, and his wife, the daughter of Samuel B. Ruggles, had even better social position. They established themselves in the Gramercy Park region and associated with the elite. His partnership in his father's law firm and his connection with certain of Ruggles' business activities brought him in touch with the men of affairs. His long service on the governing boards of Columbia College and Trinity Church, his interest in music, and his membership in the Century Association and other clubs gave him intimate knowledge of the cultural life of the city. In fact he almost literally knew everybody and saw everything in Gotham. And he loved to write. It seems obvious that he was a frustrated literary man, doomed to the law, who sought compensation in these voluminous annals.

This diary makes several unusual contributions to history. Most important, it adds much to the understanding of the evolution of a great metropolis. Strong sensed and recorded the dynamic quality of the extraordinary urban growth which is the story of the New York City of those days. The streets, the crowds, the offices, the fires, the filth, the diseases, the houses and their internal economy, the sinfulness and the lawlessness, Central Park, the theater, the opera, the concert hall, Sunday services at Trinity, the character and personalities of the bishops and presbyters, the omnibuses and the street cars. It is all in jumbled mass, but the life of Manhattan was a jumbled mass which is here revealed in a way that probably most nearly approximates the truth. Life is not laid out in neat patterns, and this impressionistic, anecdotal, unsystematic presentation is probably more revealing, more stimulating to insight than any formal history ever could be.

A similar penetrating series of revelations is afforded to those interested in the history of New York's cultural institutions. The experiences which Strong recorded during his long service on the Columbia Board of Trustees and on the Trinity Vestry and for shorter periods as officer of the Philharmonic Orchestra and the Church Music Association are presented in the same fashion of a serial story. Strong was untiring in his labors for these institutions, and he seems to have taken delight in recording the difficulties of his service. Some of his associates, particularly on the Columbia board, are treated with asperity, for Strong had a gift for devastating characterizations. The reader will not soon forget the "florid

donkey," the "galvanized pumpkin," the "chief of noodles," the "absolute dolt," and other "wooden-headed" associates. These impressionistic revelations of cultural institutional patterns likewise probably bring out the truth more vividly than the more formal annals do.

But Strong's compass is wider than the city; he was a responsible citizen of the republic and a close observer of its politics. He presents a real contribution to political history by the case study he records, the study of the political evolution of a public-spirited intellectual, himself. For this diary contains a full-dress American political autobiography, one of the few which are available. For though not a politician in any real sense, Strong took civic responsibility very seriously, knew prominent politicians, particularly through his father-in-law, Ruggles, commented freely on political behavior, and always voted even when it meant standing in line for an hour or two or encountering rowdy poll tactics.

His first comments as a boy show him a Whig with a snobbish disdain for "vulgar, low people" and a corresponding distaste for Jacksonians whom he once characterized when in meeting as a "convention of loafers." In his early years he had a distinct aversion for abolitionists, but the force of events developed in him a growing dislike of the overbearing political tactics of the South. At first he was not particularly interested in the new Republican party; in fact his vivid antipathy to the Irish attracted him more toward the American party. However, the assault on Charles Sumner roused his indignation and he voted the Republican ticket in 1856. During the next four years his contempt for Buchanan and his resentment at southern domination were constant, but interestingly enough he was making a distinction regarding slavery that is difficult for the mind of today to comprehend. He did not feel that slavery in itself was a wicked institution, perhaps because he never seems to have been a real believer in democracy, but he felt that the southerners had corrupted slavery by breeding and selling children, disrupting families and enacting slave codes which he believed deprived the slaves of any human rights.

He supported Lincoln in 1860, and during the troubled months between the election and the firing on Sumter he alternated between anger at secession and an occasional feeling that probably the republic would be better off without a few of the slave states. But the firing on Sumter removed all indecision, and this diary bears vivid record of the electrifying effect of that discharge of gunpowder upon society. Strong's health, particularly his very bad eyesight, seems to have precluded any real thought of enlisting in the armed services, but he soon found a way to render one of the most valuable services that any American citizen gave during this conflict. In the first weeks of the war a group of public-spirited men was much struck by the inefficiency of the medical force of the army, and Strong was one of a few associates who organized the famous Sanitary Commission to supply what the army medical corps lacked. Despite every obstacle which the War Department could throw in the way of these philanthropic men, they persevered. They collected millions of dollars, they organized huge services, they sent tons

of supplies, they worked everywhere with the armies, they gave comfort to hundreds of thousands, and saved thousands of lives. Strong was its treasurer, and his intimate record of the administration of this great enterprise is another boon to history.

Fortunately Strong met many of the leading figures of this war, and his gift for characterizing them flowered. Stanton, Seward, various generals, including General Burnside fleeing from the arms of a temptress, Strong's associates on the commission, all are found aptly drawn in these many pages. His choicest portrait is probably that of Lincoln. There was little in common at first between the aristocratic New York intellectual and the "Yahoo" of the prairies. It is true that he never quite accustomed himself to Lincoln's brand of humor, because he evidently did not relish that kind of "inconvenient" story which Strong did not think desirable for ladies to hear. But as he observed Lincoln's conduct of his great office during these trying years, particularly after the Emancipation Proclamation, he enjoyed a growing assurance that he was a great man, and several weeks before the assassination, he rather accurately foretold the verdict of history, as he was quite apt to do. He is the only man known to the reviewer who has attempted to record phonetically Lincoln's dialect, and one is surprised at the bad grammar which Lincoln used in speech, accustomed as we are to the majestic eloquence of his state papers. Lincoln on paper and Lincoln in conversation evidently used two different literary styles.

The political autobiography concludes in rather a pessimistic vein. He was disillusioned by Johnson whom he eventually believed should be impeached. His great confidence in Grant gradually gave way under the evidence of his incompetence, though he continued to try to defend him almost to the last. His hatred of Copperheads persisted through reconstruction, throwing new light on the post-war strength of that antagonism. He was greatly concerned over the corruption of his native city during the Tweed Ring scandals. His record likewise gives interesting sidelights on the hardships of inflation upon those who had been living comfortably on fixed incomes. His problem seemed to be to keep up his wonted style on \$18,000 a year. Undoubtedly this final pessimism was related to his own declining health.

Much credit belongs to the editors of this monumental work. They were confronted with a stupendous task. The great diary was much too long to be published in full, and eventually they decided to omit sixty per cent of it. Not only was the task of selection difficult because of the great size of the original but Strong kept so many intricate stories going in serial form that it must have taken unusual care to include the many incidents essential to understanding them. Furthermore, the identification of so many men and events, the intricacies of family history, and the carrying along of a gloss explaining the trend of the times have called forth skills of a high order. Editors and publishers have co-operated in producing as fine an example of bookmaking as has been seen in many a long day. The whole enterprise in this day of high costs was a daring one, and the publishers

are to be commended for their courage as well as for their skill. History is the richer.

Living for forty years with George Templeton Strong is a vivid experience now available to anyone who can read. But it is history that must be used with a certain degree of caution like very rich food. How accurate, how trustworthy an observer was Strong? He was evidently a very sensitive instrument. His descriptions of his reactions to music indicate a delicately adjusted nervous system which was capable of wide range of response. There is evidence of great energy, high enthusiasm interspersed with periods of depression, lassitude, and insomnia. He also suffered from some allergy or digestive maladjustment which produced frequent sick headaches; eventually he died of a malignancy in the liver which may have been of longer standing than Strong realized. There is evidence of a certain snobbishness, prejudice, and jaundiced judgment about individuals which go hand in hand with an almost uncanny understanding of men and situations. At one time Strong was very much interested in spiritualism, and one may perhaps borrow a concept from that phenomenon and conclude that Strong was a sensitive medium who may enable his readers to gain remarkable insight into past experience.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Benjamin P. Thomas*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1952. Pp. xiv, 548, xii. \$5.75.)

IN 1916 an Englishman, Lord Charnwood, published a one-volume life of Lincoln which was widely acclaimed as the best short biography of the great emancipator, one likely to become a classic. Six years later an American historian, Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, published another biography which, though too psychological in its approach to win the approval of some students, was hailed by others as at least the equal of Charnwood's life. Satisfactory as these studies were for their time, the vast amount of research on Lincoln and on the whole Civil War period of American history undertaken during the years following their publication steadily outdated them and made imperative a new interpretation of Lincoln for the general reader. This is the want that Dr. Thomas has sought to supply—a volume for the reading public, but a volume that should receive the approval of the experts. In this task he has been amazingly successful. Not only has the volume won a place on best-seller lists but many of the experts have already spoken and they have been full of praise.

Thomas has packed into this volume not only the broad story of Lincoln's life but also much interesting detail, the conflicting evidence on countless controversial points, and concise but illuminating analyses of the individuals, the groups, and the communities that played a part in Lincoln's career. He has presented adequate background for an understanding of Lincoln's activities but he has successfully kept it as background, never losing Lincoln in the antislavery story as Beveridge, or even occasionally Charnwood, did, and never submerging him

under lengthy discussions of military campaigns. Likewise he has been successful in presenting much of the inner man without making Lincoln nearly so mystical and mysterious as Stephenson did. Thomas is obviously a sincere admirer of Lincoln, but he is not blind to his human frailties nor even to the crudities of his early years. Moreover, unlike Charnwood and Stephenson, Thomas shows little prejudice toward but much understanding of Lincoln's opponents; Douglas is not made a sheer adventurer and common demagogue, and the Radicals are not portrayed as black villains.

A one-volume biography of a man about whom so much has been written could hardly be expected to present new material, yet here and there Thomas does add details, some of them significant, gleaned from the Robert Todd Lincoln Papers and from other manuscript sources. One example of such is the letter of condolence written to the President by McClellan on the death of Willie Lincoln. Thomas threads his way through the mass of Lincoln material with unusual judgment and discrimination, setting aside apocryphal legends and myths, avoiding false or exaggerated claims, and shunning literary tricks designed to heighten dramatic effects. His account of Lincoln's marriage to Mary Todd and of their years together resembles far more the picture recently presented by James G. Randall than the older one drawn by Herndon. The Ann Rutledge romance he leaves as a possibility but he denies for it the great enduring influence long attributed to it. He adheres to the basically critical view of McClellan and presents Grant in a favorable light. How one could have done more, or indeed so much, within the space it is difficult to see. The Charnwood and Stephenson biographies must make room at the head of the shelf of Lincoln books for this new volume.

It is not by accident that Dr. Thomas has written such an excellent biography. Since 1932 when he became executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association in Springfield he has been an active Lincoln scholar, living and working at the center of Lincoln scholarship. He has published several earlier works on Lincoln, served as associate editor of the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, and acted as editorial adviser in connection with the recently published *Collected Works of Lincoln*. How thoroughly he is acquainted with Lincoln materials and how discerning his judgment and understanding of them is evident in his valuable essay on Lincoln literature at the close of the volume.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRAINERD DYER

MARY LINCOLN: BIOGRAPHY OF A MARRIAGE. By *Ruth Painter Randall*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1953. Pp. 555. \$5.75.)

THIS is an important and definitive volume. As its title implies, not only is it a full-length portrait of Mary Todd Lincoln but, in reality, a double biography of Abraham and his hitherto misunderstood and much maligned wife. Certainly this book and David Donald's *Lincoln's Herndon* go a long way in destroying the reliability of much of the testimony of William H. Herndon upon which the

public to date has largely relied for an estimate of Mary Lincoln. Herndon did not like Mrs. Lincoln and wanted to believe the worst about her. Imaginative, introspective, inconsistent, eccentric, convinced of his own righteousness and psychoanalytic omniscience, Herndon according to Mrs. Randall "framed" Mrs. Lincoln.

Using the tools of the genuine historical scholar, Mrs. Randall has performed a magnificent job in exploding the Herndon myth and portraying the real Mary Lincoln. The old story of Lincoln as a defaulting bridegroom because he loved another is shown to be baseless. By recourse to a great variety of new source material including letters and telegrams the Lincolns sent each other, Mrs. Randall traces in great detail the story of the Lincolns' family life from the day of their marriage to Lincoln's tragic death. Instead of a nagging, psychopathic, and irresponsible woman who was more or less a source of constant embarrassment to her husband and the cause of his spells of deep melancholia, Mrs. Lincoln emerges from these sympathetic and carefully documented pages as a person of excellent background, affectionate disposition, and, until afflicted with mental illness, admirable deportment. No one who reads this book can seriously doubt that Lincoln was fond of his wife and that she loved him. If the correspondence between them is to be accepted at face value they were an adjusted couple. Both were ambitious to achieve success. Mrs. Lincoln was interested in her husband's activities and he in hers. Both were devoted to and enjoyed their children.

But Mary Lincoln had her shortcomings as do most human beings, and Mrs. Randall makes no effort to gloss over or to minimize them. She frankly admits that Mrs. Lincoln was at times emotionally unstable but believes that childhood experiences may partially explain the reasons therefor. Be that as it may, Mrs. Lincoln's temper on occasion did get out of hand even to the point of hysterical frenzy. At these times, she was a cross to her husband and tried his patience to the extreme. Even she herself declared that he was too indulgent in his attitude toward her. A second shortcoming was her financial irresponsibility. Reared in affluent circumstances, Mary Lincoln found the early years of married life very lean ones financially. She had the things she absolutely needed but there was no money for the pretty clothes and other material things she was so fond of. Social functions to which before marriage she was accustomed were also impossible; as a consequence her social status declined. To make matters worse, her husband was not only in debt but was not primarily interested in making money. To what extent these factors contributed to her later financial irrationality there is no clear answer. With Lincoln's election to the presidency, her actions involving financial matters got increasingly out of focus, much to her husband's embarrassment. Finally, she was indiscreet in both her private and public utterances and Lincoln on more than one occasion attempted, and without too much success, to curb her inconsidered and troublemaking statements. These weaknesses on the part of Mrs. Lincoln were eagerly seized upon by Lincoln's opponents for the purpose of injuring him politically.

Mrs. Randall's account of the Lincoln family life is rich in detail and new insights concerning the many years in Springfield; Lincoln's continued interest in politics and the campaign of 1860 and his election to the presidency; the departure from the Middle West and the journey to Washington; Mrs. Lincoln's refurbishing of the White House, her dippings into politics, her playing the star part socially as First Lady; the death of the beloved Lincoln children, Eddie and Willie; Mrs. Lincoln's intense jealousy and the distressing scene at City Point when she went emotionally berserk. These and a thousand other lights and shadows help us to understand more clearly the real Mary Lincoln. Also, Mrs. Randall's account of Mrs. Lincoln's growing mental illness, accentuated by the tragic loss of her husband on whom for so many years she had depended in almost child-like fashion, of the agonizing months following his death, of the anguish caused by Herndon's lectures on Ann Rutledge, of her vulnerability to exploitation by unscrupulous persons, of her trip abroad, of the death of Tad, her youngest son, of the insanity hearings and estrangement from her son Robert, and of her last days and death helps the reader to understand why Mary Lincoln deserves a higher place in the annals of history than the prejudiced people of her generation accorded her. However, as this reviewer lays this book aside, a recurring thought again comes to mind. Would Abraham Lincoln's life have been made easier had he had a wife not handicapped by the shortcomings of Mary Lincoln?

Columbia University

HARRY J. CARMAN

LINCOLN AND GREELEY. By *Harlan Hoyt Horner*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 432. \$6.00.)

THIS ample, one-volume work (it runs from 160,000 to 170,000 words in length) bears evidence to the unflagging interest and the scholarly zeal of its author. It is a study in the relationship between Lincoln and Greeley, between the "backwoods politician" (to use a descriptive phrase once employed regarding the martyred President by the late Dr. Jameson) who rose to greatness and to fame as the nation's leader in the midst of civil strife, and the obstinate, peppery, unpredictable genius who guided the destinies of the New York *Tribune* from its founding in 1841 almost until his death some thirty-one years later.

Mr. Horner shows clearly that Lincoln and Greeley had much in common, particularly during their early years. Both knew poverty; both were handicapped by scanty education; both were ambitious; both developed Whiggish sympathies at an early stage in their careers. The author shows how each man fitted into the great pattern of events that culminated in the Civil War and how, inevitably, there were many points of contact between the rising political leader and the newspaperman whose influence became so potent in Lincoln's own state of Illinois.

A study of two such striking personalities is bound to have appeal for any reader with an interest in the United States as it was a century ago. The appeal of this book would be much greater, had it been held to briefer compass. It is

doubtful that a volume which contains so much patiently worked out detail and abounds in so many lengthy quotations will hold the unflagging interest of any save the specialist in the field. It is equally doubtful that the length of this volume was essential to an adequate treatment of the subject. The significance of at least half the quotations could have been given more effectively in the author's own words. And such comparisons as those of Lincoln's and Greeley's attitudes toward slavery and toward the Republican party in the 1850's have no direct bearing on a study of the relationship between the two men and might well have been much reduced in length.

There are many points at which this reviewer is compelled to differ with Mr. Horner's interpretation of Greeley's career. It is perhaps permissible to characterize Lincoln as a "political realist" and Greeley as a "political idealist" (p. 9), but in all fairness it should be added that Greeley thought of himself as possessing an admirable mixture of both qualities and often tried to demonstrate that "fact." It is a mistake to say that Greeley "labored heroically and uncompromisingly for Clay" in 1848 (pp. 9-10). Greeley's course in regard to that nomination was much more subtle and devious than this statement indicates, and his real preference for the nomination was not Clay but Corwin. Mr. Horner asserts that Greeley's letter of 1854 dissolving the partnership with Weed and Seward was perhaps "the most discreditable note" in his whole career (p. 115). The incident might well be characterized as petulant and childish, unpleasantly indicative of thwarted ambition, but it is not nearly so damaging to Greeley's fame as his course in the Niagara Falls incident of 1864. It is highly doubtful that Greeley wanted Seward nominated in 1856 (p. 129). And it is, in my judgment, entirely wrong to portray Greeley as being willing to let the South "go in peace" during the winter of 1860-1861 (pp. 107, 188-93, 289). Here, once again, Greeley's course was marked by a subtlety that Mr. Horner fails to understand.

But authors, like ordinary human beings, are subject to error, and such lapses in judgment and interpretation as those recorded above do not destroy the value of this book. Mr. Horner has written sympathetically and, in the main, understandingly of the relationship that existed between two outstanding Americans, and of their services to the nation. His work is bound to be consulted and to be used with profit by those students of the period whose labors touch the lives of Greeley and Lincoln.

University of Rochester

GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

DIVIDED WE FOUGHT: A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE WAR, 1861-1865. By *David Donald*, Author of the Text and General Editor; *Hirst D. Milhollen*, *Milton Kaplan*, and *Helen Stuart*, Picture and Caption Editors. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. x, 452. \$10.00.)

THE last few years have brought us many picture books dealing with American history. *Divided We Fought* is among the best of these. The picture editors

have done an excellent job of locating and identifying negatives, and selecting the best for reproduction. A general editor has added a lively text built around quotations from contemporaries; and the publisher has performed his task of book-making with equal skill.

The volume, of course, is built around the work of Mathew Brady and other Civil War photographers. The editors say that, despite technological improvements, "nothing in any later war . . . has approached the dramatic, almost three-dimensional quality" of some of the photographs here reproduced. The blurb writers go further, to call the Civil War "the best photographed war in history."

Few readers will agree. The photographs are interesting and impressive, and help one understand the Civil War. A few are works of art (e.g., White Oak Swamp, p. 73). But, as one would expect, nearly all are markedly inferior to twentieth-century work. Most important, action shots are lacking. The editors have filled in with contemporary sketches done by artists who worked for *Harper's* and *Leslie's*; and the text, too, helps to give the feel of battle. (Words are necessary, after all.)

As the editors point out, the material available slants the war a little. The Union had more photographers than the Confederacy, the eastern theater more than the western. Then, too, "because of the present economics of publishing," illustrations were limited to five hundred. Specialists must therefore continue to use Francis Miller's *Photographic History of the Civil War* (1911), which contains nearly four thousand illustrations.

Given the space limitations, the editors were wise to confine their treatment to military history, leaving out life behind the lines. They might, however, have given more attention to supply and the other problems stressed by modern military historians. The text, though good for details, fails at many points to tie day-by-day developments to the over-all strategic pattern. A map would have helped; but there is none. (Pictorial histories need maps just as much as do other history books; yet few include them.) Nor is there an index, a fact which will reduce the reference value of this volume. Nevertheless, *Divided We Fought* will be a standard work for years to come.

University of Wisconsin

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON

JAMES LONGSTREET. Part I, SOLDIER. By *Donald Bridgman Sanger*. Part II, POLITICIAN, OFFICEHOLDER, AND WRITER. By *Thomas Robson Hay*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1952. Pp. viii, 460. \$6.50.)

OF the corps commanders of the Confederate army, none had wider experience or demonstrated a tougher nervelessness and a surer tactical dependability on in the summer of 1864, when he was recovering from wounds received in the Wilderness, he took part in almost every campaign against the Army of the the field of battle than did James Longstreet. Except for an absence from the army

Potomac from 1861 to 1865. In addition, he and his corps participated in the battle of Chickamauga and in the operations in east Tennessee in the autumn and winter of 1864-65.

From the very first page of this work, the late Colonel Sanger has made plain his admiration for Longstreet's soldierly qualities and has defended his record as a general. He declares that although Longstreet was equal to neither Lee nor Jackson in strategic brilliance, he was nevertheless "superior to both in battle leadership and in appreciation of tactical values," and was "the soundest of the three leaders when dealing with the practical side of war." Colonel Sanger completely exonerates Longstreet of the charge that he was jealous of Lee and had no great respect for him. Longstreet and Lee were bound by "deep affection" for each other, the colonel insists; and Longstreet "worshiped Lee." In picturing this idealized relationship Colonel Sanger relies upon the printed dispatches in the *Official Records* (indeed, all his sources are printed); and he ignores all Longstreet's subsequent criticisms of Lee—in particular, those that Longstreet expressed in 1896 in his book *From Manassas to Appomattox*. Colonel Sanger considers Longstreet blameless for the Confederate failure in the assaults of the second and third days at Gettysburg; and he concludes that Longstreet's only fault at Gettysburg was that of disagreeing with Lee's battle plan and of having no heart for carrying it out. He says that Longstreet "could have given Lee more generous support; he could have shown a willingness to subscribe to Lee's plan, even though it may not have been the best plan to follow." The only wartime episode in which Colonel Sanger acknowledges serious shortcomings on Longstreet's part was the east Tennessee campaign of the winter of 1863-64. Yet even there, the colonel declares, the main causes of failure were beyond Longstreet's control. He is convinced that Longstreet was "the best fighting general in the armies of the Confederacy and the best corps commander, North or South."

At the time of his death in 1947, Colonel Sanger (who originally presented his study of Longstreet the soldier as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago in 1933) had not taken his biography beyond the surrender at Appomattox. The task of writing Part II thus fell to the colonel's friend, Thomas R. Hay. Mr. Hay's task was the more difficult, for Longstreet lived until 1904; and his postwar career, previously neglected by historians, had to be pieced together from scattered newspapers, unpublished letters, and government reports. As judiciously as possible Mr. Hay has skirted the subject of Longstreet's motives in swallowing the program of Radical Reconstruction, in joining the Republican party, and in becoming one of its "hacks" in Louisiana and Georgia. Mr. Hay insists that Longstreet was honest and that his conduct in a half-dozen offices (all appointive) was "scrupulous." But he does not conceal his distaste for the sordid and arbitrary political shenanigans with which Longstreet associated himself; and he admits that Longstreet willingly "became a convenient tool—always on hand to be used when needed."

The book will serve as a useful reference for students of the military history

of the Confederacy and of post-bellum politics; but its primary value lies in its facts and citations. It is the result of patient and careful research, and its thoroughness and accuracy are impressive. But it suffers from a want of narrative skill, from laborious detail, and from a narrow focus. Colonel Sanger's story does not add significantly to the understanding of Longstreet that Douglas Southall Freeman has provided; and Mr. Hay's account does not bring him out from behind his bushy beard to make him alive or real.

Emory University

JAMES RABUN

SCHUYLER COLFAX: THE CHANGING FORTUNES OF A POLITICAL IDOL. By *Willard H. Smith*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XXXIII.] (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1952. Pp. xiii, 475. \$4.75.)

This biography supersedes the laudatory one by O. J. Hollister published in 1886. Professor Smith's scholarly volume developed from a doctoral dissertation written at Indiana University and is based on thorough research in numerous manuscript collections, newspapers, and government documents. The volume is beautifully printed and is edited by the staff of the Indiana Historical Bureau with the high standards that readers have come to expect from its members. It is marred only by the outmoded, unattractive, dull color of the binding used by the state printer.

Among Colfax's ancestors were General Philip Schuyler and General William Colfax, commander of Washington's bodyguard during the Revolution. Born in New York City, his family moved to Indiana in 1836. Here young Colfax studied law and held local and state offices. He established his residence at South Bend, where he soon became the major stockholder and editor of the lucrative *St. Joseph Valley Register*. He helped to form the Republican party and was continuously elected by his district to the House of Representatives from 1855 to 1869 by large majorities. The only exception was the election of 1862, so discouraging to Republicans, when his narrow margin of victory was only 299. This he explained by the fact that three times as many Republicans as Democrats volunteered and left for the battlefronts. He was three times elected speaker, serving from 1865 to 1869. His record as chairman of the committee on post office and post roads was outstanding, especially in the establishment of overland mail service to California. He endeared himself to the Far West, which he visited in 1865, and again on a campaign tour in 1868, when he was elected vice president on the Grant ticket. He failed to be renominated in 1872 and retired from political life.

The stain upon Colfax's record which terminated his political career was his implication in the scandals of the vicious Credit Mobilier of America Corporation. The author's chapter dealing with it is the best chapter in his book and a model for judicious exposition for those who may sit in judgment on such conduct. Like many of his contemporaries, Colfax did not sense the seriousness of his accepting

free shares of stock or dividends, and, when wild charges were made, his defense was evasive. The author, however, feels that if historians such as Rhodes and Caldwell give to Garfield, similarly involved, the benefit of doubt, certainly they should do likewise for Colfax.

Colfax never sought vindication; retiring from politics, he capitalized on his talents as an orator and his intimate relations with Lincoln. He was asked to speak at the unveiling of Lincoln's monument at Springfield, Illinois, and so touching were his remarks that soon requests for lectures poured in from twenty states. Lucrative fees and entertainment by old associates on such occasions restored zest in life to Colfax. It was while on such a tour in 1885 that he died suddenly of a heart attack.

The author presents with skill the story of an influential and popular leader in a trying and critical period. Colfax tried to make meaningful the principle of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal.

Ohio University

A. T. VOLWILER

VETERANS IN POLITICS: THE STORY OF THE G.A.R. By *Mary R. Dearing*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1952. Pp. x, 523. \$6.00.)

AMONG the readers of this book there will be relatively few whose recollections revert to the "boys in blue" who participated in exercises appropriate to Memorial Day and to the Fourth of July, who marched in parades, who reminisced at state and national encampments, and who held local, state, and federal offices. G.A.R. means no more to the rising generation than it did to the sophomore who identified the initials in an objective examination as "Granddaughters of the American Revolution."

Mrs. Dearing has told the story of the Grand Army of the Republic and of contemporary veterans' organizations with finality. Her story has a beginning and an end. She names a politically ambitious physician as "merely the obstetrician who presided at the delivery of the Grand Army of the Republic from the womb of Illinois politics. Although Governor Oglesby did not parade his parentage, there can be little doubt that the society was his offspring." The cycle was completed at the eighty-third and final encampment in 1949 when six feeble old men of the only sixteen surviving members attended.

The organization took its inception in the rivalry for the soldiers' votes during the Civil War. The second stage followed when discharged service men demanded employment and compensation of some sort, and men ambitious for office made political capital out of their predicament. The infant G.A.R. had scarcely been wrapped in swaddling clothes before it became a power in politics, not only in the state of its birth but also in sister states. Grand Army posts "became efficient cogs in the Republican machine." One popular designation was "Generally All Republicans." Despite the fact that Democratic state platforms and the records of

certain Democrats invited such epithets as "rebels" and "Copperheads," Democratic candidates in certain campaigns did not fare so badly in competition with Republicans who wrapped themselves in the flag.

Mrs. Dearing correctly emphasizes the political role of the G.A.R., but other activities are discussed fully, fearlessly, and objectively. She exposes the nefarious transactions of pension attorneys and their agents which discredited legitimate claims of veterans and their dependents, by obtaining pensions for men who had "never smelled powder." Of course, the episodes and events associated with Grover Cleveland are appraised in a manner quite at variance with resolutions adopted by veterans' organizations. There are judicious treatments of the efforts to deny amnesty to Jefferson Davis, to keep alive the war spirit, to prohibit the display of the Confederate flag, to guard against disloyal movements and ideas by crusading against anarchism, to offer aid in suppressing strikes, and to demand that the flood of foreign immigration be checked in order to exclude radicals who were allying themselves with Copperheads and ex-rebels. "Cormorant Jews and vampire Gentiles" were said to be banding together for an assault upon the veterans.

The author presents interesting material pertaining to the campaign for the teaching of "loyal" history in the schools. "Agitation for patriotic exercises, military instruction, and loyal textbooks occupied so much of the Grand Army's attention that it had little breath to spare for jingoistic fulminations against other countries." It was primarily interested in blacklisting textbooks that distorted the Civil War. The authors most attacked were Alexander H. Stephens, Alexander Johnston, John Fiske, and D. H. Montgomery. A most extraordinary suggestion emanated from Wisconsin, namely, that a committee be appointed from survivors of both Union and Confederate armies to write a history of the Civil War that would be satisfactory to both sides.

Mrs. Dearing has reason for great satisfaction with her book which from the first chapter to the index is the product of prolonged research, sound scholarship, and excellent workmanship. She is fortunate in having a publisher who executed every detail of production with competence.

University of Minnesota

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

SOUTH CAROLINA NEGROES, 1877-1900. By *George Brown Tindall*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 336. \$5.00.)

It can hardly be said any longer that the post-Reconstruction era is a neglected period of southern history. In the last decade books by Francis B. Simkins, William B. Hesseltine, C. Vann Woodward, Vernon L. Wharton, Albert D. Kirwan, and, most recently, George B. Tindall have supplied much of the material for an understanding of the political, social, and economic life of the "New" South. Those who fill the remaining gaps will do well to match the high level of scholarship, the fine air of detachment, and the cold realism which characterize the books of these writers.

Professor Tindall used Wharton's recent superb study of Mississippi Negroes as a model for his own study. He has produced a volume of equal excellence. The effectiveness of his writing results from its balance and restraint. The dust jacket, itself a model of restraint, notes with rare accuracy that "Dr. Tindall neither neglects nor emphasizes harsher aspects of relations between the races." Since the story of South Carolina Negroes from 1877 to 1900 is, in the main, an unhappy one, since interracial violence was "endemic," the author had every excuse for resorting to purple prose. But the most passionate phrases could never have related the grim aspects of this story as movingly as Tindall's matter-of-fact approach.

Wade Hampton, the patriarch of South Carolina's post-Reconstruction politics, is inevitably a central figure in this book. Professor Tindall never doubts the sincerity of Hampton's pledge of 1876 that he would be fair to the Negroes—that they would retain their political rights, enjoy equality before the law, and receive equal educational opportunities. But Tindall's appraisal of Hampton is realistic enough to note some of his limitations. His program was "negative . . . merely promising that certain rights already gained by the Negroes, would not be taken away"; it assumed a condition of "white supremacy" and merely offered to combine with it a nonproscriptive paternalism.

Neither Governor Hampton nor his successors were able to fulfill even these limited promises. As the Negroes lost the ballot through violence and other devices, Hampton occasionally voiced a pious protest, but more often he looked the other way. Perhaps Professor Tindall should have stressed the additional fact that the economic plight of the Negroes concerned Hampton not at all. Actually South Carolina conservatives never ceased to value the Negroes most as a supply of cheap labor. On this point, however, there was little difference between the conservative followers of Hampton and most of the "radical" followers of Ben Tillman.

But in spite of disfranchisement, the loss of civil rights, and the wretched poverty of landless tenants and sharecroppers, Professor Tindall does not overlook the "bright thread of Negro progress." For this period also witnessed the gradual decline of illiteracy, the emergence of a small professional class, the improvement of Negro leadership, and the accumulation of valuable experience in organizing for many useful purposes. Thus South Carolina Negroes themselves were forging weapons with which, one day, they would surely destroy the caste system which the whites had created. Indeed, this book makes it apparent that the Negroes had done more for themselves in thirty-five years of quasi-freedom than their masters had done for them in two hundred years of slavery.

University of California, Berkeley

KENNETH M. STAMPP

THE LIFE OF JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS: ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE, 1834-1921. By *John Tracy Ellis*, Professor of American Church His-

tory in the Catholic University of America. In two volumes. (Milwaukee, Wis.: Bruce Publishing Company. 1952. Pp. xix, 707; vii, 735. \$17.50.)

It is generally agreed that the two most distinguished and historically important Roman Catholic prelates in the United States were Archbishop John Carroll, and Cardinal James Gibbons, the subject of this biography. John Carroll came from an aristocratic Maryland family of Irish origin; James Gibbons was also born in Maryland but of a humble Irish immigrant family which had joined with thousands of others in seeking new homes in America in the 1830's. James Gibbons was born in 1834, and three years later the Gibbons family returned to Ireland and were there during the distressing years of the potato-rot famine, where the father died of "famine-fever" in 1847. In 1852 the widowed Bridget Gibbons returned with her children to America, taking up their residence in New Orleans. They arrived in the midst of a yellow fever epidemic and James fell a victim to the dread disease and for a time his life hung in the balance. It was evidently during his convalescence that he decided to enter the priesthood. He was trained at St. Charles and St. Mary's seminaries in Maryland and was ordained a priest on June 30, 1861. Seven years after his ordination to the priesthood he was consecrated bishop of North Carolina, having just passed his thirty-fourth birthday. At the time he was the youngest bishop among more than one thousand throughout the Catholic world. In 1872 Pope Pius IX named him bishop of Richmond. Five years later he returned to Baltimore as archbishop and on May 18, 1886, he received notification that Pope Leo XIII had chosen him for the cardinalate, "for his personal virtues and merits as well as to increase the luster of the See of Baltimore, first among all the churches of the vast Republic of the United States."

The rapid rise of James Gibbons to a place of supreme leadership in American Catholicism was not due to his exceptional qualities of mind, for the author tells us that he did not possess unusual gifts and lacked originality and initiative. Rather the reason for his growing influence among his co-religionists, as well as outside Catholic circles, was his human qualities. Among his fellow bishops he enjoyed a wide reputation for solid piety, combined with that rare quality, common sense. He came to the cardinalate at a time when the Catholic population was being augmented rapidly by the great waves of immigration pouring in from the Catholic countries of Europe. The increase to the Catholic Church from immigration alone during the three decades from 1880 to 1910 was near five millions. The American Catholic Church has had since its beginning Irish leadership, the importance of which is indicated by the fact that at least three hundred episcopal sees in the United States have been occupied by Irish prelates, either native or American born, and the greatest names in American Catholic history are Irish names. It was particularly fortunate that American Catholicism should have had such a warmly human and patriotic leadership, as that furnished by Cardinal Gibbons, at the very time Catholic immigrants were swarming across the Atlantic.

James Gibbons placed great emphasis upon his Americanism. On many oc-

casions he expressed his gratitude for being a citizen of a country "where the government holds over us the aegis of its protection, without interfering with us in the legitimate exercise of our sublime mission as ministers of the gospel of Christ." He stood firmly by the principle of the separation of church and state, and frequently stated that nowhere in the world had the church a greater opportunity than in great free America. He was grieved and discouraged when Pope Leo XIII issued his *Testem benevolentiae* condemning Americanism and came to the conclusion that any real understanding of America by the Vatican was hopeless. The author states that he "never allowed himself to be intimidated or frightened off from the strong Americanism which he had always professed," and his reply to the pope indicates that he had not retreated from his original position. Although the papal pronouncement did not change Gibbons' position it put an end to Americanizing trends among American Roman Catholic prelates, and there have been none among the American Catholic hierarchy since Gibbons' day who have exercised a large influence outside Catholic circles comparable to his. These perilous times call loudly for another Gibbons.

The limits of this review preclude more than a bare mention of the important part Cardinal Gibbons played in the foundation of the Catholic University of America and of the concern he felt for organized labor in America. The author of this definitive biography is professor of American (Catholic) church history at the Catholic University of America and a worthy successor of Peter Guilday and Richard J. Purcell, both of that institution, who together set the pattern of writing American Catholic history according to modern historical canons.

Pomona College

WILLIAM W. SWEET

THE CHALLENGE TO ISOLATION, 1937-1940. By *William L. Langer* and *S. Everett Gleason*. [The World Crisis and American Foreign Policy.] (New York: Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations. 1952. Pp. xv, 794. \$7.50.)

THIS is an extraordinarily good book, a notable contribution to American historiography. It is, as well, a genuine public service since it will enable the present generation of Americans to take a saner view of the events of 1937-1940 than their predecessors took of the events of 1914-1917. It demonstrates that "contemporary history"—sometimes regarded contemptuously or patronizingly by members of the historical gild—can, in fact, be as honest in its purposes and achievements, and as nearly definitive in its conclusions, as chronicles of a century or of half a millennium ago. It is, too, first-class diplomatic history—a type of history which, the authors readily concede, has intrinsic limitations. For, given the restrictions placed by the Foreign Office on the editors of the British diplomatic documents of World War II and the inadequacies of the White House and State Department records, all that the diplomatic historian can be expected to do is to tell *what* happened and, to some extent, *how* it happened rather than *why*.

As the authors say in their preface, they have had to cope with "a veritable deluge of records and memoirs that has flooded the bookshops in the few years since the end of the war"—plus such highly unusual documentation as the staggering mass of evidence introduced at the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes trials. They also have examined the unpublished records of the Department of State and the papers of leading participants in the drama here recounted. The real problem of the historian of contemporary affairs is not that he will be bedeviled by what he does not know by reason of paucity of evidence, but rather that he will be overwhelmed by the sheer mass and richness of the documentation at his disposal. To examine, analyze, comprehend, organize, and write authoritatively about materials as extensive as those now available concerning the origins of the Second World War is no mean achievement. But the evidence of the text—as well as the evidence of the invaluable footnotes and bibliographical references—is that the authors have coped successfully with a task which might well have proved beyond even their considerable abilities.

Much of the Langer-Gleason story has been told before—in the memoirs of Mr. Churchill, Mr. Hull, M. Reynaud, Harry Hopkins (as related by Mr. Sherwood), Mr. Stimson, M. Baudouin, and Mr. Welles (among others), as well as in the analytical volumes of Professor Namier and Mr. Wheeler-Bennett, and in the British documents edited by Professor E. L. (now Sir Llewellyn) Woodward and Mr. Rohan Butler. But the story has never been told in such broad perspective. It treats American foreign policy from October 5, 1937 (the date of Roosevelt's "quarantine" speech), to September 2, 1940 (the date of the destroyer-for-bases deal), on the basis of its own intrinsic interest and importance, but it also treats American policy "in the context of the world events which conditioned that policy." Hence one finds in these pages an extensive narrative of the events which led to the Munich settlement, the Nazi-Soviet pact, the partition of Poland, the Soviet attack on Finland, the Japanese advance in China and Southeast Asia, and all the other tragic sequences of disaster and near-disaster which led remorselessly and inevitably to American participation in the war. It sometimes seems that the authors have allowed themselves to go too far afield; for example, although the chapters dealing with the Finnish and Norwegian campaigns are much the best account yet published of those particular Soviet and Nazi aggressions, they need not have been dealt with at such length and in such detail in order to convey their full impact on American public opinion and American policy. But this is a matter of personal judgment and perhaps is a mere quibble. In most respects this is a coherent story of American reaction to the turmoil of world politics from 1937 to 1940.

Although Messrs. Langer and Gleason do not write with the booming eloquence and the personal authority of Mr. Churchill, they write clearly, interestingly, fairly objectively, and with considerable literary skill. They have enlivened their manuscript with pertinent character sketches of Roosevelt and Hull—to mention but two instances. They know how to turn a neat phrase, such as their

reference to the "determination of the American people to continue to enshrine in their laws a neutrality which did not exist in their hearts." In general they see the forest as well as the trees and the dense underbrush.

Messrs. Langer and Gleason believe that it is the duty of the historian to offer judgments on persons and events. On the affirmative side, they believe that the United States government was extraordinarily well served in the quality of the reports it was receiving from its diplomatic representatives abroad—probably better served than any other government in modern times (p. 125). But they obviously think less well—much less well—of Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy at London than of his ambassadorial colleagues in other European and Asiatic capitals. (The ambassador who, in the large, made the best showing was Laurence Steinhardt in Moscow.) They think that Franklin Roosevelt frequently misjudged American public opinion after May, 1940, lagged behind it in most instances, and often temporized unnecessarily. Sometimes, too, they question his candor. And they think he suffered from traits of personality and character which frequently delayed or handicapped effective American political action in the European crisis, as well as produced inexcusable "slackness" in military preparedness. Seen in retrospect, some of Roosevelt's speeches seem smug, disingenuous, and loaded with isolationist platitudes. Messrs. Langer and Gleason believe that in many instances Roosevelt's policy was "as parsimonious in deeds . . . as it was prodigal in words," and they quote with apparent approval a remark of M. Daladier that "it would be sad if civilization in the world should fall because a great nation with a great President could simply talk." On balance, however, they regard Roosevelt as extraordinarily perspicacious in foreseeing the Nazi peril and, when confronted with the possibility of German victory in the spring of 1940, in making "the great commitment" of the Charlottesville speech that the resources of the United States should be devoted to supporting the military effort of the Allies. And they think that the objective of ultimate victory might have been delayed rather than hastened, had the United States entered the war appreciably sooner than it did. What Britain most needed at the time—in the way of rifles, small arms ammunition, destroyers, and patrol planes—we could supply "short of war." The destroyer-for-bases deal, which is here described at length, they attribute to aroused and well-organized pressure groups rather than to boldness on the part of the President.

The authors regard Soviet, as well as Nazi, policy during 1939 and 1940 as dishonest, brutal, and cynical. They have no great respect for Neville Chamberlain and his appraisals of the European scene; curiously, however, they seem not to have used the *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, Third Series, Volumes I-III (concerning the Czech crisis and Munich) which might have confirmed their basic conclusions or altered it in some details. They regard both Hitler and Mussolini as incredibly stupid in their lack of understanding of Britain and the United States, especially as regards their stubborn refusal to face up to the possibility of American intervention and its inevitable consequences. Mr. Churchill, on the contrary, believed that American intervention—no matter how

long delayed—was virtually certain and that it held out the greatest single hope of Allied victory. No one was more convinced than Churchill on this score unless it be Messrs. Dieckhoff and Thomsen, of the German embassy in Washington, who persistently and courageously warned the German government that, whatever might be said officially and unofficially to the contrary, America would certainly enter any war in which the existence of Britain proved to be at stake (*Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Volume I [Washington, 1949], especially chapter III).

With the vast majority of judgments expressed in this volume this reviewer is in complete or substantial agreement. But sometimes Messrs. Langer and Gleason venture some highly controversial opinions and undemonstrable assertions. For example, they say on page 574: "That the British action [in destroying part of the French Fleet at Mers-el-Kebir], abetted by the President, was probably unnecessary was demonstrated by the scuttling of the French warships at Toulon in November, 1942, at a time when Anglo-French relations were far less cordial than they were in June, 1940." Not everyone will be willing to credit the men of Vichy with the same faith and courage as Messrs. Langer and Gleason. And the political and military situation in November, 1942, was so entirely different from that prevailing at the time of "the tragedy of Mers-el-Kebir" that the analogy is hardly valid. In any case, as Messrs. Langer and Gleason admit, Churchill had to act on what he knew in late June and early July, 1940, not on the basis of what he might have known had he deferred decision for more than two years.

But when all is said and done—and it is hoped that none of the foregoing will be regarded as unduly captious—this is a magnificent piece of historical writing, an impressive tour de force. Those who lived through the tragic days of Munich and the Nazi successes thereafter until the fall of France will be able to relive in these vivid and dramatic pages one of the most fateful periods in all recorded history. There is much here which will make Americans critical of themselves and their government, much which will make them proud that they were not altogether delinquent in recognizing and forestalling peril. The volume closes with the dispatch to Britain of fifty overage destroyers—a pathetically small contribution to the British people in "their finest hour." But this was mere prelude to a somewhat more creditable record which Messrs. Langer and Gleason are about to unfold in a second, and eagerly awaited, installment concerning the great awakening of the American people to their inescapable role in world affairs.

Institute for Advanced Study

EDWARD MEAD EARLE

A HISTORY OF VICTORIA UNIVERSITY. By C. B. Sissons. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1952. Pp. vii, 346. \$5.00.)

THE University of Toronto, the "state university" of the province of Ontario, is in actuality an association of affiliated and federated colleges and universities, joined together much in the same manner in which the several parts of Canada

were combined to form a "Dominion." One of the most unusual features of this academic union is that it comprises, in addition to the nonsectarian university proper, institutions representing a variety of religions—Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, United Church. The United Church unit (formerly Methodist), Victoria University (or Victoria College, as it is commonly called), is the subject of the present volume, the work of an eminent alumnus and emeritus professor, a classical scholar, teacher of ancient history, and biographer of that great figure of Canadian Methodism, Egerton Ryerson.

The history of higher education in Canada is in part the story of the efforts of the Church of England to obtain a monopoly in that field. As a consequence of those efforts, several of the non-Anglican groups established their own colleges and universities. One of the first of these was the Methodist Victoria University. Professor Sissons traces its growth from its founding at Coburg ("on the old Ontario strand," of which the students still sing) as Upper Canada Academy in 1836, up to its present eminence in its impressive location in Queen's Park, Toronto. And, despite an understandable affection for his alma mater, he achieves a nice degree of objectivity in the process.

Supplementing an earlier work by the late Nathanael Burwash, a former chancellor, the writer has made extensive use of recent collections of source materials. In a charming style, with a judicious use of quotations and careful documentation, he portrays the difficulties of a college, founded in an atmosphere of religious antagonisms, nurtured in the hardy environment of a pioneer society, and tempered by prolonged financial tribulations. With a constant and delightful attention to the character of the college's leaders, the student body, the curriculum, the austere social life, the emphasis on religious training (with, however, a more liberal attitude toward non-Methodist teachers and students than might be expected) he provides the reader with history, biography, literature, enlightenment, and entertainment at one and the same time. His considered treatment of the problems posed by the federation with the University of Toronto, between 1887 and 1892 (and the subsequent transfer of activities to Queen's Park) and by Church Union in 1925 exemplifies fine historical craftsmanship. His survey of the years from 1930 to 1952 should be of great value to any student of Canadian educational history. And his concluding paragraphs, in which he evaluates federation as successful and assesses the future as hopeful, provide an appropriate finale to his labor of love.

The courage and enterprise of Victoria's founding fathers have long since been justified and rewarded, especially through the achievements of the university's alumni. At the moment, for example, one of them presides over the United Nations, while another heads Leland Stanford University. Professor Sissons has made his major contribution by stating the record in a form worthy of the heritage he commemorates.

The reviewer is prompted to close on a personal note. His obvious enjoyment of the book derived, in part, from the fact that it provided him (a University

College product) with a better understanding of why "Vic" is as it is. It went far toward dispelling the holdover of bewilderment from the days when he helped provide music for the "promenades," when dancing was still a pleasure forbidden to Methodist students at "Varsity."

Western Reserve University

JOHN HALL STEWART

THE INCREDIBLE CANADIAN: A CANDID PORTRAIT OF MACKENZIE KING, HIS WORKS, HIS TIMES, AND HIS NATION. By *Bruce Hutchison*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1953. Pp. x, 454. \$5.00.)

THIS is a fascinating, informative, and misleading book on an important subject. Bruce Hutchison, editor of the *Victoria Daily Times*, is incapable of turning out a dull paragraph, for he wields the magic pen of a fine literary artist; and it is doubtful if any other living journalist has acquired a fuller knowledge of the life and work of the man who dominated the Canadian political scene from the end of the First World War to his retirement in November, 1948, less than two years before his death. This is therefore no ordinary popular biography. It contains a wealth of material and quite a number of interesting revelations, among them the role that Mackenzie King played in getting Roosevelt and Churchill together on lend lease. It is also full of the author's own interpretations and judgments, some acute, some blunt, and some twisted like a boomerang.

This study is constructed after the fashion of a symphony, to produce a desired effect. But the movements are not all well balanced, and several themes have got out of hand. One is chance. Though Mackenzie King had the good fortune to face a succession of Conservative leaders every one of whom played into his hands, his luck resembles that of Napoleon on the battlefield in that he possessed an uncanny ability to make the most of his opponents' mistakes. They deserved to lose, he to win; and to say that he slit their throats, as Hutchison repeatedly does, is less like poetic license than licentious journalism.

The Harvard Ph.D., expert labor conciliator, trained economist and social philosopher, author of the penetrating *Industry and Humanity*, was much more than the consummate politician who took command of the wrecked Liberal party in 1919, transformed it into the one really national party in Canada, and held the office of prime minister longer than anyone else in the history of any British country—an astonishing achievement for a man who lacked the gifts of oratory and personal magnetism. "He found a people divided, quarreling, and weak. He left them reconciled, united, and strong as they had never been before. . . . He found an economic system called Capitalism. For better or worse, but beyond repeal, he ushered in the Welfare State." Hutchison admits this in the beginning, and yet in the end he leaves a total impression of a man who could not have done all these things. Much of the mystery is the creation of the artistic biographer.

The Canadian premier's gravest fault, here justly exposed and as justly con-

doned, was his failure to see that the world was plunging headlong toward Armageddon. Not many months before Munich he came away from a long private interview with Hitler believing that the madman was only a simple peasant who would never risk a major war. Yet such blindness was shared by leading statesmen in other democratic lands; and none but a great power, which Canada was not, could have taken any effective action to avert the impending crash.

Many well-informed Canadians will gnash their teeth over this as a perverse book. Nevertheless it is by far the best account we have yet had of Mackenzie King and his times, and it may not be superseded for many years.

University of Minnesota

A. L. BURT

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

THE GREAT FRONTIER. By *Walter Prescott Webb*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1952, pp. xiii, 434, \$5.00.) In *The Great Frontier* Professor Webb attempts "to lift the American frontier concept . . . out of its present national setting," and apply it "on a much larger scale to all of Western civilization." He argues that since 1500 "the frontier was almost if not quite as important in determining the life and institutions of modern Europe as it was in shaping the course of American history." In fact Western civilization for 450 years has been "dominated by frontier forces" (p. 7). It is necessary to report that Professor Webb knows too little of the history of Europe to give him a sound basis for testing his bold hypothesis. It is probable that if he had known enough European history to test it, he would not have entertained the hypothesis in the first place. If we suppose it possible to assign a meaning more or less consonant with the ordinary signification of the words to the statement that Western civilization has been dominated by frontier forces since 1500, then the statement is simply wrong. A dozen or so reasons why it is wrong will have immediately occurred to anyone who has concerned himself with the history of Europe, so the reviewer need waste no one's time by rehearsing his own dozen reasons. In its broad generalizations *The Great Frontier* offers little, in its more limited applications it is either not new or not right. Historians concerned with Europe since 1500 will not find the book helpful or stimulating, informative or challenging. (A summary of the book's thesis appeared in Professor Webb's "Ended: 400 Year Boom," *Harper's Magazine*, October, 1951.) Professor Webb is the author of *The Great Plains*, a book that is admirable and distinguished, fresh and lively and full of vivid insights. To be forced to say of a man who has written so well that he has simply wasted his time in producing his most recent book affords the reviewer no satisfaction but only discomfort and regret. Unfortunately in writing *The Great Frontier* our Homer did not merely nod; he mumbled in his sleep. We may hope that when he wakes he will give us more of his epic about the land he knows and loves and tells about so well, the land around the 98th meridian—the Great Plains.

J. H. HEXTER, *Queens College*

GERMANY PLOTS WITH THE KREMLIN. By *T. H. Tetens*. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1953, pp. x, 294, \$3.75.) In this timely and stimulating book, T. H. Tetens, director of the Library on Germanic and Related International Problems, presents the thesis that the orientation of German policy is moving toward the Soviet bloc vis-à-vis the West. He contends that, while the free world is busy organizing its strength against Russia, Germany's geo-political master minds have quietly sharpened the weapons of their arsenal of *Realpolitik* and have planned a sellout of Europe to Moscow. The realistic program for postwar Germany was virtually scrapped after the death of President Roosevelt. "The new approach was no different from that of the Allied treatment after World War I. Those occupation officials who were responsible for the 'new look' accepted the German line that only Germany could be depended upon to block Moscow's drive toward the West. They ignored completely the fact that the Germans, regardless of differing political faiths, were united in one principle, that is: Germany's special interest must be served above all else" (p. 200). Mr. Tetens believes that our German policy has ignored decisive German social and political forces. He urges the United States to reconsider and redirect its German policy in

order to regain its freedom of action in Europe and to preserve its moral leadership in the world. It is obvious that Mr. Tetens is thoroughly familiar with the course of German history. His book is expertly documented. He shows by quotation after quotation that German spokesmen of all shades of opinion, including Chancellor Adenauer, are by no means convinced that Germany should be on the side of the West against Russia. Although Adenauer has been represented as a special friend of the United States, in Tetens' view he intends to play off the United States against Russia to hold the balance of power and will then demand colonies in Africa to bring about the reconstruction of a colonial empire. The author warns that German leaders profess their attachment to the West in order to extract billions of dollars from the American taxpayer. Because of the controversial nature of the subject, some critics will claim that, while Tetens' documents are genuine, his interpretation is wrong. Only time will tell whether he or his critics stand on the right side of the argument. Until then, he has presented the most powerful book yet written to criticize the position of both the Pentagon and the State Department on the persistent German problem.

LOUIS L. SNYDER, *City College of New York*

DIE OSTKIRCHE IM LICHT DER PROTESTANTISCHEN GESCHICHTS-SCHREIBUNG VON DER REFORMATION BIS ZUR GEGENWART. By *Ernst Benz*. [Orbis Academicus: Problemgeschichten der Wissenschaft in Dokumenten und Darstellungen, III, 1.] (Freiburg i.Br., Karl Alber, 1952, pp. xii, 421, DM 25.) This is an interesting and useful book. By a judicious selection of texts and excerpts, accompanied by a running commentary, Dr. Benz provides the reader with a clear picture of the progress and variations in Protestant studies of the Eastern Church, from the Reformation to the present time. It was inevitable that the study of the Christian East in the West should be affected by the religious backgrounds of scholars. Unfortunately, it has been too often affected also by pride and prejudice, as well as by an unhealthy enthusiasm. Dr. Benz emphasizes, in particular, the distorting impact of an anti-Russian bias, inspired by the Germans from the Baltic Provinces, on the interpretation of the Eastern tradition by such a prominent scholar as Adolf von Harnack (pp. 230-56; cf. the chapter "Das baltische Russlandsbild," pp. 218 ff.). On the other hand, he warns against that romantic *Träumerei* which has heavily colored some of the recent interpretations (Hans von Eckardt and Konrad Onasch). To the examples given by the author one could add the book by Walter Schubart, *Europa und die Seele des Ostens* (1938), of which an English translation has recently been published in this country (*Russia and Western Man*, New York, 1950). Today there is an obvious revival of interest in the Christian East in various quarters. And there is a serious danger that analysis of the "Russian soul" may be substituted for the study of the doctrine, ethos, and constitution of the church. Dr. Benz concludes the volume with a plea for ecumenical scholarship, of which his own studies, as well as those of his younger colleague in Marburg, Dr. Ludolf Müller, are notable specimens. Dr. Benz confines himself almost exclusively to German material, and he deserves gratitude for his achievement. It is highly desirable, however, that a similar survey of English material should be undertaken. Anglicans especially have been interested in the Eastern tradition from an early date, and this interest increased immensely following the Tractarian revival. One may claim that the modern attitude to the Christian East in the wider circles of English-speaking Protestantism is determined primarily by the studies of such men as John Mason Neale, Dean Stanley, and others. "Nontheological factors" influenced these studies also. More attention should be given to the doctrinal controversies of the seventeenth century, especially between the Calvinists in France and Holland and the Roman Catholics. Both parties endeavored to inter-

pret the Eastern tradition in favor of their confessional purposes. These remarks are not intended to detract from the value of Dr. Benz's contribution.

GEORGES FLOROVSKY, *Columbia University*

THE EVOLUTION OF CHEMISTRY: A HISTORY OF ITS IDEAS, METHODS, AND MATERIALS. By *Eduard Farber*. (New York, Ronald Press, 1952, pp. ix, 349, \$6.00.) In the preface the author promises, as the main part of his book, "a description of the ways by which chemical beliefs developed into ideas, how ideas have developed into theories, and how practices evolved into experimental methods of research." He certainly has kept his promise and has filled a gap. In all the chapters dealing with chemical theories the reader receives an excellent introduction into and interpretation of the ideological background, the step-by-step development, the scope and the limit of usefulness, hence the validity of each of the hypotheses marking the progress of chemistry. The book is subdivided in three "periods" of which the first one, entitled "The Emergence of Chemistry as a Science," surveys—in 89 pages—"the period from the oldest records to the eighteenth century." Period II, entitled "The Development of Chemical Systems" and dealing with "the period from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth," represents the most important part. It is admirable how the author here, in only 142 pages, has succeeded in offering the most lucid presentation of the rather complicated processes of thought and experiment in question. The almost extreme brevity of his clarifying exhibition of facts and ideas, allowing only the listing of the really important men and events, makes itself felt not as a limitation but as a means of wholesome concentration and simplification. Period III, entitled "Specialization and Industrialization," is supposed to offer a survey of "the period from the latter part of the nineteenth century to our own time." This reviewer must confess that he is not quite convinced of the necessity of this subdivision. Its contents could, in his opinion, have been included in Period II (which then, naturally, would have carried the subtitle "survey from the late eighteenth century to our own time"), especially since the heading "Specialization and Industrialization" of Period III can hardly be justified. Besides, such topics as matter and radiation, chemical bond and physical force, and organic chemistry would find their logical place in a continuation of the analogous or related chapters in Part II. The ten pages on inorganic chemistry dealing with alloys and some heavy chemicals seem to this reviewer entirely out of place in this book. In the chapter "Biochemistry," which describes substances rather than systems, the brevity which has proved so advantageous in dealing with the latter does not offer even the minimum information required. It remains to make a few comments on details. On page 14 the term "humanization," should be replaced by "anthropomorphization." Pliny did not die at Rome (p. 31) but at Stabiae (not far from Pompeii) as a victim of the eruption of Vesuvius. According to Julius Ruska and Paul Kraus the Arabic books of "Jabir" were not "written during the latter part of the 8th Century" (p. 35) but originated at least a hundred years later as the product of an Islamic sect. Paracelsus was not "Professor at the University of Basel" (p. 45) but municipal physician with the right to teach. In connection with the mentioning of Sylvius (Franz de le Boë) on page 55 iatrochemistry should have been briefly explained. The chapter on "mines, pharmacists and manufacturing plants" (pp. 75-89) is too short and not specific enough. The statement that "the old pharmacist was permeated by the spirit of alchemy and suffered by its excesses" (p. 78) cannot be substantiated. On the contrary, the part taken by pharmacists in alchemistic work was amazingly small. The notes on phosphorus (p. 83) should have been supplemented by a reference to the large-scale manufacture of this substance in London in the second half of the seventeenth century by the pharmacist Hanckwitz-Gordfrey,

a protégé of Robert Boyle. In mentioning Kant's influence on the speculative tendencies in chemistry (especially in Germany) in the first half of the nineteenth century (pp. 93-94) it should have been noted that it was the interpretation through the German "Naturphilosophen" (Schelling, Hegel, Oken, etc.) that did the trick, and that Liebig turned against them with all the vehemence so characteristic of him. Pelletier and Caventou as well as Doebereiner (pp. 176, 195) were professors not of "pharmacology" but of pharmacy. These comments do not in the least lessen the value of this book for the general reader or as a textbook.

GEORGE URDANG, *University of Wisconsin*

AUSTRALIA. By R. M. Crawford, Professor of History, University of Melbourne. [Hutchinson's University Library: British Empire History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. ix, 203, trade \$2.25, text \$1.80.)

CEYLON. By Sidney D. Bailey, Assistant Director of the Hansard Society. [Hutchinson's University Library: British Empire History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. vii, 168, trade \$2.25, text \$1.80.) Each of these slim volumes testifies to the validity of the purpose underlying the Hutchinson's University Library series as well as to the ability of the two authors. If one were forced to rate the two it would probably be necessary to mention Crawford's book on Australia first, but this is due to the fact that he is dealing with his own culture and can thus get "inside" of the phenomenon he is describing. Bailey is surely as competent but has, at the same time, to remain outside the culture of which he writes. The schema employed by Bailey in his history of Ceylon would probably suit the most exacting taste. In less than 160 pages of text he covers each era in Singhalese history quite adequately, giving to each the proper weight and space. Thus six of his twelve chapters quite rightly deal with Ceylon under British hegemony while one chapter suffices for Ceylon under Dutch rule and one chapter for the Portuguese interlude. Mr. Crawford, writing from the *aperçu* of the participant in the historical process he essays to describe, puts more emphasis on explicating the morphology of Australian society in terms of the structuring it has received through time. In this endeavor he has, one feels, done a beautiful job of reweaving the fabric of today so as to illuminate its germination in days gone by. Crawford is a master of social history writing on a subject with which he has dwelt intimately. His chapter on the "Australian Legend," an inquiry into the mainsprings of national character, flows logically and rightfully from the description, in previous chapters, of the development of the Australian social polity since the landing in 1788 at Sydney Cove. His final chapter, on the future role of Australia, has much to say and says it with a maturity and temperance that might well provide some illumination for Americans facing a troubled Asia in the midst of parlous times. If some of my colleagues were to argue that the task of the historian is to describe the past and eschew the present, I could only reply that Professor Crawford has used the past in order to understand the present and that this may well be as worthy a task as our profession can attempt. In closing, I may note that students of recent Indian history will find Mr. Bailey's thoughtful discussion of the report of the Donoughmore Commission on "communal representation" most enlightening. The fact that "communal representation" was there condemned in concise and effective terms while the same principle was rigidly supported for India indicates a need for re-examination of one of the cardinal tenets upon which British rule in India rested. If the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission had been taken to heart outside of Ceylon the subsequent course of Indian history might well have been altered.

ROBERT I. CRANE, *University of Chicago*

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Medieval History

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THE HERITAGE OF EARLY BRITAIN. By M. P. Charlesworth, et al., Cambridge University. (New York, British Book Centre, 1952, pp. 196, 24 plates, \$2.50.) Prepared originally as a course of lectures at Cambridge University in 1949, somewhat revised subsequently for broadcast by radio, and carefully rewritten for publication, this collaborative account of the early history of England from its prehistoric beginnings to the Norman conquest covers the whole subject in eight brief chapters by as many authors. Twenty-four plates, eight figures, and a map take the place of the lantern slides which illustrated the original lectures. Brief lists of suggested additional reading, including some very recent titles, are appended to all but two of the chapters. The book is dedicated to the memory of Martin Charlesworth, who initiated this project of assembling a group of writers from three faculties of the university to present a composite picture of early British history for the general reader. The book is impressive for its brevity, comprehensive scope, depth of scholarship, and for its readability. The reviewer found the first three chapters, devoted to prehistoric and Celtic

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Britain, too compact and occasionally confusing. The chapter on the Roman occupation, from the pen of Martin Charlesworth, though probably at times too enthusiastic, is excellent. The chapter on the Celtic West, by Nora K. Chadwick, undoubtedly too emphatic at many points, is still highly successful. The concluding chapter on "The Heritage Completed," by the editor, M. D. Knowles, is very likely the best thing in the whole volume, not only because it ties together very skillfully the previous chapters, its avowed purpose, but because it also presents a number of interesting reflections, both novel and penetrating. This is a small book on a large subject, not by one master of the subject but by several. It is best suited to the large group of readers for whom it was designed but it has much to offer even to the specialist in the field.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD, *Smith College*

THE DOMESDAY GEOGRAPHY OF EASTERN ENGLAND. By H. C. Darby, Professor of Geography in the University of London. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1952, pp. xiv, 400, \$11.00.) *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England* is the first of six volumes to be edited by H. C. Darby, professor of geography in the University of London. Each of the subsequent volumes will be written by a specialist under his supervision and will follow a similar plan. The project, which is an attempt to reconstruct the material recorded in Domesday on a geographical basis, is of great significance not only for the student of geography but also for the historian. This first volume, written by Professor Darby himself, contains a valuable introductory chapter which describes the making of the great survey and summarizes Domesday scholarship since the days of Round and Maitland. The next six chapters analyze and map the data for each of the counties of eastern England, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire. A concluding chapter summarizes and compares the information for the entire area, pointing out interesting geographical variations as well as differences in the methods of recording. This summary and the composite maps make possible a general picture of eastern England as it may have been in the reign of the Conqueror, showing the intensity of the settlements, the distribution of free and unfree classes, the amount of woodland, waste, mills, fisheries, and other geographical and economic features. Professor Darby is painfully aware of the problems presented by the Domesday record, with its obscurities, errors, and omissions. Again and again he cautions the student that "in giving us something, the Domesday Book has withheld much." In spite of these perplexities, he believes that the study when completed will give a more accurate and complete picture of England in the eleventh century, "a picture of the relative prosperity of different areas and the data for a comparative study of varying geographical and economic factors." Historians will welcome this "more accurate picture," the result of meticulous research and careful mapping. They will be grateful to Professor Darby and his students for the bibliographical notes on each county. Some will question his method or statistics or be disappointed that he does not answer more of the controversial questions of interpretation, but those of us who, like the Conqueror, "think it no shame" to count pigs and salt-pans and puzzle over the loss of fractions of churches will be fascinated anew by this geographical study of the Domesday Book.

NORMA ADAMS, *Mount Holyoke College*

POUR UNE IMAGE VÉRIDIQUE D'ALIÉNOR D'AQUITAINE. By Edmond-René Labande. [Extrait du Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest, 4^e Série, t. II.] (Paris, Poitiers, 1952, pp. 60.) This painstaking brochure, which, if it adds little or nothing new, does try to eliminate the atmosphere of legend which has infected accounts of the great queen's life down to one of the most recent, and does give on

the whole a just appreciation of her character and accomplishments. Scattered through the extensive notes occur appreciations and criticisms. Curiously enough, after rebuking Miss Kelly (upon whom he quaintly and consistently confers the matrimonial degree of "Mrs.") for her use of legendary material, he duplicates her odd blunder by locating Mt. Cadmos in Paphlagonia on the Black Sea, three hundred miles off the Crusaders' course. The narrative, generally incisive and clear, becomes confused and inaccurate from the time of Queen Eleanor's imprisonment to that of King Henry's death. M. Labande has been unable correctly to correlate the Chronicle evidence with that of the Pipe Rolls which he seems never to have studied independently. In the most "puerile" fashion, to use a phrase he applies in criticism of another, he confesses himself unable to understand a clear statement in an unquestioned contemporary chronicle that Henry and Eleanor were "reconciled" in 1179, and therefore disregards its existence.

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson¹

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. By James A. Williamson. [Brief Lives, Number 1.] (London, Collins; New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 160, \$1.75.)

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

QUEEN VICTORIA. By *Roger Fulford*. [Brief Lives, Number 2.] (Same as above, 1951, pp. 144, \$1.75.)

MONTROSE. By *C. V. Wedgwood*. [Brief Lives, Number 3.] (Same as above, 1952, pp. 158, \$1.75.)

QUEEN ELIZABETH. By *Milton Waldman*. [Brief Lives, Number 4.] (Same as above, 1952, pp. 159, \$1.75.) This series is another attempt to provide an easy introduction to history by short biographies of figures who have acted leading roles on its stage. The authors are scholars and experienced writers. Drake and Montrose are suitable subjects for this treatment, but readers will gain a better impression of their personal careers than of the times in which they lived. Elizabeth and Victoria are much less amenable to this treatment. Their personal lives are inseparable from the public events of their time, and the latter are much too complicated and cover too long a period to be reduced to a brief, simple narrative. In their cases brevity is purchased at the cost of so much omission that the stories are inadequate. Mr. Waldman uses 42 of his 159 pages in his first chapter, "Birth to Accession." Even so, little space could be spared from the narrative of Elizabeth's early personal life to foreshadow the complex web of events that faced the new queen when she began to reign. Not until chapter 4, "Rebellion," does the reader learn of the controversies between Protestants and Catholics that divided Europe and that began in the reign of Henry VIII. We thus reach chapter 6, "Test," without sufficient preliminary action to make the climax of the drama, the Armada, stirring or even convincing. Mr. Fulford solves the problem in the case of Victoria by dwelling on her personal life rather than on events in her reign, but the story of her life would not have been worth telling had she not been a queen.

W. T. LAPRADE, *Duke University*

RUPERT OF THE RHINE. By *Bernard Fergusson*. [Brief Lives, Number 5.] (New York, Macmillan, 1952, pp. 143, \$1.75.) This is a lively and well-written book of rather mixed quality. Many of its faults are doubtless attributable to the fact that the author is not a historian but a professional soldier. As such he writes about Prince Rupert, also a professional soldier, with sympathy and gusto. He is at his best in dealing with the facts of Rupert's career, especially during the civil war, with which the greater part of the book is concerned. (The implied promise on the dust jacket that the nonmilitary aspects of Rupert's life are also to be discussed is not fulfilled.) Rupert's trials and tribulations as a general who always had to keep one eye on his enemies among King Charles's courtiers are convincingly described. But even with respect to the civil war the author disappoints us, for he nowhere gives any reasoned assessment of Rupert's ability as a general. This sort of judgment we might legitimately expect and value from a military man. When the author strays from the path of Rupert's own career, he makes some elementary errors. For example, it is hardly accurate to say that "Gustavus Adolphus was killed in a skirmish" (p. 14), or to describe the restoration of 1660 as the "overthrow of Parliament" (p. 120). As a description of Rupert's derring-do, this book is satisfactory enough; as a piece of historical writing it has serious deficiencies. MAURICE LEE, JR., *Princeton University*

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT. By *Hugh Ross Williamson*. (New York, Macmillan, 1952, pp. 301, \$4.50.) Mr. Ross Williamson has reopened the still unsettled debate between Father John Gerard and S. R. Gardiner over the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. The author argues strongly for the thesis that the plot was merely one of a series of government "frame-ups" designed to be "discovered" at the most propitious moment in order to push through more stringent anti-Catholic legislation. He insists that the government of James I was quite aware of the nature and scope of the conspiracy

and was acting more or less as its *agent provocateur*, while Robert Cecil is presented as the evil genius of the entire scheme which was devised to "wean the King from a policy of toleration" (p. 112). The author has made the most of the existing evidence for such an interpretation, and undoubtedly there is more than an element of truth in such a view, for the Elizabethan and Jacobean governments, with their highly developed espionage systems, must have been fully acquainted with the chronic efforts of the more fanatical Catholics to assassinate their Protestant sovereigns. However, to paint the conspiracy of 1605 as a "frame-up" comparable to certain so-called plots mysteriously discovered in communist Russia seems to be an unwarranted conclusion. There certainly was a plot and plotters who were willing to risk treason and to suffer the horrible consequences of failure. The main criticism, however, should not be directed against the author's interpretation of the plot itself for which there is considerable if controversial evidence. Mr. Ross Williamson is most vulnerable when he endeavors to create the necessary atmosphere to make his thesis plausible. He has conjured up a picture of Elizabethan and early Jacobean society which not all historians might recognize. Relying heavily on Hilaire Belloc, the author insists upon the "ruthless malignity" which "is exhaled from the Elizabethan past" and portrays Elizabeth's anti-Catholic legislation as being based on "a special personal hatred of the [Catholic] Faith" (p. 38). If Elizabeth and her government are characterized by anything, it is by a singular religious apathy in a markedly religious age. The queen herself disclaimed any desire of opening "a window into men's souls," and Catholics during her reign were executed not because they were Catholics but because they were traitors. Moreover, the argument that it is possible that "the plan [of the plot] originated in Cecil's brain and was by some means transferred to Catesby's" because "the Government had had long and successful experience in 'planting' such ideas (as the Babington conspiracy and others witness)" (p. 113) is highly problematical. The government's knowledge of the Babington affair of the previous reign was certainly used by Walsingham to trap the unfortunate Queen of Scots, but it has never been proved that a government official was actually the *agent provocateur*. Mr. Ross Williamson has not succeeded in persuading this reader to accept all of his views. However, as the author himself points out, the temper and experience of our own century does make his interpretation far more credible than it could have ever been to those living in a more trusting age.

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH, *Princeton University*

RECORDS RELATING TO THE SOCIETY OF MERCHANT VENTURERS OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Selected and Edited by *Patrick McGrath*, Lecturer in History, University of Bristol. [Bristol Record Society's Publications, Volume XVII.] (Bristol, the Society, 1952, pp. lvi, 276, 27s.6d.) This is the first of two volumes designed to illustrate the economic and social history of the merchant community of Bristol in the seventeenth century. The present volume relates to the organized merchant body, the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol, and the second will deal with the merchants in their private capacities. The society, which still exists as an important civic body, was incorporated in 1552 as part of the crown's general policy of favoring "well ordered trade." For some fifty years its activities appear to have been slight, overlaid in part by the Spanish Company, but from 1618 it rose in importance both in itself and in its relations with the city authorities and became the controlling force in the organization of the city's trade and shipping. Its charitable work, now its main function, helped to deal with the problem of poverty in seventeenth-century Bristol. In its commercial policy and in its relations with other companies, such as the Merchant Venturers of England and

the Levant Company, it fought for its own rights with the usual inconsistency of principle but consistency of interest then, and still, prevalent in economic matters. Its membership remained small—it never reached 100 in the seventeenth century—but it grew in wealth and credit standing, on an income of some £700–£800 a year by the end of the century. The present selection of records, admirably edited and annotated by Mr. McGrath, gives a vivid picture of its growth, activities, and range of interest. The section on the society's interest in exploration and colonization is, however, brief, for most of the relevant documents have already been published, those relating to northern Virginia in 1621–23 having appeared in the *American Historical Review* in 1899 and those of Captain James in the Hakluyt Society series in 1894. Not all those who ventured forth found good fortune for, among the alms record here printed, accommodation was given in 1697 to "Phillipp Whelly a person late come from Virginia but borne in St Thomas Parish." Some 100 pages of the main text are devoted to the society's organization and internal activities (including the detection of collusive apprenticeships) and another 50 pages to relations with other companies and a fighting protection of the members' interests externally. A section of considerable local interest is given to the society's work as a port authority, including pilotage, matters which in other ports fell to the city authorities. An appendix gives particulars of ships arriving at Bristol, 267 in 1686 of which 70 were from America and the West Indies. The perils of the sea are vividly illustrated in a selection of records devoted to "Pirates, Turkish Corsairs and Convoys." What human story lies behind the dry entry in 1622, "inprimis for xxs which was paid to goodwife Trippett by consent of the Master and Company towards the relief of herselfe and children in their sicknes, her husband being in captivitie in Algier"? In the first part of the century, English and Irish pirates and Turkish corsairs were particularly menacing, and in the wars with the Dutch and French in the second half the society was very much concerned with the question of convoys that would take "the said shippes one hundred and fifty leagues to the westward of Cape Cleare" in Ireland to and from the West Indies and Virginia.

H. A. SHANNON, *Washington, D. C.*

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, 1560–1707. By *Douglas Nobbs*, Lecturer in Political Science, University of Edinburgh. [Hutchinson's University Library: History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. 173, trade \$2.25, text \$1.80.) This is a new and at times illuminating approach to a dramatic period in British history. The history of England and the history of Scotland have often been written separately. Mr. Nobbs attempts to place the two together here and to describe developments both north and south of the border from a point of view that is neither English nor Scottish but British. Ultimate political union is the central theme of the book which becomes in consequence an essay upon those processes in England and in Scotland after 1560 which made possible the final consummation of 1707. This outcome is regarded as a triumph of moderate opinion in both politics and religion, and the author is concerned primarily with the development of this body of opinion. Much less attention is paid to English ideas than to the evolution of political thought in Scotland. There is much justification for emphasizing the special problem of the moderates in the more backward country. Scottish moderates lacked the support of a strong middle class; until almost the very end of the period they lacked effective political institutions through which to control the crown; and they were slow in developing a mature political theory which might have offered a middle ground between the extreme claims of an absolute crown and of an unlimited church. As Mr. Nobbs points out, Scotland had to develop economically and politically before the moderates could have their chance and also before she could be equal enough to England to contrive

an effective union. It may, however, be questioned whether in a book of so general a nature too much space has not been devoted to the discussion of Scottish political thought. Political events and economic developments are not indeed ignored, but they are relegated to a subordinate position. In such a brief account much no doubt had to go, but it may be doubted whether a just balance has been retained.

DAVID C. ELLIOT, *California Institute of Technology*

THE PROTESTANT DISSENTING DEPUTIES. By *Bernard Lord Manning*. Edited by *Ormerod Greenwood*. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1952, pp. ix, 498, \$10.00.) The dissenting deputies are a characteristic product of the English political genius. They have had a continuous history since 1732, when they came into being as an ad hoc body for the immediate purpose of petitioning for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. Though drawn only from the churches of the three denominations within twelve miles of London, they have been the most influential and often the official representatives of orthodox dissent throughout the country. Their success was largely due to a rigid limitation of aim and method. By concerning themselves only with the civil rights of dissenters they survived the landslide of most of the old Presbyterian congregations into Unitarianism. By skillfully concentrating on practical grievances and leaving wider issues, such as disestablishment, to more popular (and generally more short-lived) societies, they became in effect the only consistent champions of religious toleration as such. The deputies normally act through a committee of twenty-one, whose very full minutes are the main primary source of this book. It is valuable, less for any new light it throws on particular topics than for the general picture of the politics of dissent and the working of Victorian democracy. The dreary controversies on church rates and burial laws show how much active intolerance and petty persecution survived into the ages of reason and liberalism, how slowly, in Manning's words, "every approach to religious equality has been won in practice, even after it has been conceded in theory": and the deputies, like their Puritan forebears under Elizabeth, possessed a remarkable flair for political action and influencing public opinion. One of the most interesting sections deals with the proposed episcopate in the American colonies. The minutes also contain much of importance to the local historian. The book suffers from too exclusive concentration on the main source. While the progress of legislation is traced through the minutes, its final form is not always clear. Moreover, the wisdom and tenacity of the deputies, the fruit of inherited tradition rather than of any individual influence, is somewhat too uncritically contrasted with the folly of the politicians. There is, for example, no reference to the securities for dissenters which Graham was careful to insert in his education proposals of 1843. Brougham, Graham, Peel, Gladstone, and above all the "renegade" and "parvenu" Disraeli are trounced with a zest reminiscent of Buckle, to whom all legislators were powerless except for mischief. Bernard Manning died in 1942 and his editor, the present secretary of the deputies, has left untouched these expressions of opinion, even where he disagrees with them.

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY AND THE FRENCH CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, 1789-91. By *Eric Thompson*. (Manchester, Eng., Manchester University Press, 1952, pp. viii, 168, 15s.) This short study in the history of political ideas during the early French Revolution was written originally for the doctorate at the University of London. But unlike many dissertations, it is a thesis with an actual thesis. The thesis is that the doctrine of popular sovereignty had become widely accepted in France by 1789 and had become part of the revolutionary *mystique*. But the balance of political

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles, except where otherwise indicated.

power in the National Assembly inclined to the bourgeoisie, and the spokesmen for this group were anxious to circumvent popular sovereignty in practice in order to consolidate their new supremacy. So the democratic doctrine by clever exegesis was reconciled with a practical program of preserving political dominance for the middle class against the pretensions of both the traditional monarchy and its supporters on the right and of the masses and their democratic leaders on the left. The author traces the success of these maneuvers through the successive decisions taken in the drafting of the Declaration of Rights and the solution of the vexing problems of the veto, the franchise and the system of representation, the structure of the legislature, the scope of the executive power including the control of foreign policy, the constitution-making power, and church-state relations. There are certain inherent dangers in such a thesis, most obviously the danger that a complex situation may be oversimplified. The author describes a carefully planned strategy on the part of the bourgeois Left Centre in the Assembly during 1789, 1790, and 1791, but the reader may still question whether that group acted quite so consciously and with all the foresight that hindsight suggests to the historian. It is rarely thus. This however is a subjective question of interpretation, and the fact that the author is pushing his thesis means a more stimulating essay. The book is well written, with numerous quotations translated from the debates. More important, we have here, if not an original contribution except incidentally, a convenient summary of one of the most important developments in the period, and a valuable case study in the relations between revolutionary political theory and practice, including the inevitable tendency of the latter to dominate the former.

GORDON H. McNEIL, *Coe College*

LA GRANDE PEUR DANS LA GÉNÉRALITÉ DE POITIERS, JUILLET-AOÛT 1789. By *Henri Diné*. (Paris, the Author, 7 rue César Franck, 1951, pp. 248.) This small volume by a newcomer is of more significance than its size and title imply, because it challenges the description of the Great Fear by the recognized authority, Georges Lefebvre. The book comprises three parts. The first analyzes popular reaction to famine, epidemics, vagabondage, and poverty during the eighteenth century as background for the psychology of fear and popular violence in 1789. In the second part, M. Diné describes the Great Fear in each community of the *généralité* of Poitiers, utilizing departmental and local archives as well as national sources. It is in the third part, a discussion of the Great Fear as a general phenomenon throughout France, that M. Diné would revise the interpretation of M. Lefebvre in three respects. In his volume *La Grande Peur en 1789* (Paris, 1932) and more recently in a succinct summary in his *La Révolution française* ("Peuples et Civilisations," Paris, 1951), M. Lefebvre described the Great Fear as occurring in six regions of France between July 20 and August 6, with chain-reactions unleashed by fear, real or imagined, spreading from six centers by traceable routes, illustrated on a series of maps. M. Diné cited several incidents to show that the Great Fear appeared in Brittany and some other regions of France excluded by M. Lefebvre. Secondly, M. Diné rejects the inception of the Great Fear in Poitou as beginning on July 20, and would have it on July 22 throughout that region, thereby reinforcing his conclusions from the identity of the date of uprisings. The third and major difference is M. Diné's thesis that a central revolutionary plan existed and sent out propaganda from Paris and Versailles, resulting in simultaneous outbreaks in the provinces, rather than the autonomous regional movements demonstrated by M. Lefebvre. M. Diné's discussion has not convinced this reviewer. One of his main arguments is derived from diplomatic correspondence, already well known, which contained reports of English bribery and threats of invasion but which contained no proofs of a well-organized plot to arouse violent action all over France

on the same day. Such a plan would require picked *agents provocateurs* and specific propaganda. Despite his meticulous consultation of local archives, M. Diné has not identified such agents, or cited posters, circulars, or any new documentary evidence of central planning and promotion. Until such proof has been discovered, the earlier thesis of M. Lefebvre remains valid. B.F.H.

SUPPLÉMENT AU RÉPERTOIRE CRITIQUE DES CAHIERS DE DOLÉANCES POUR LES ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX DE 1789. Publié par *Beatrice F. Hyslop*. [Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire économique de la Révolution française.] (Paris, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, distrib. by Presses universitaires de France, 1952, pp. 247.) Long aware of the singular importance of the *cahiers de doléances* of 1789 for appraising French public opinion on the eve of the Revolution, and of their debt to Professor Hyslop for contributing so much to their knowledge of these essential sources, historians will be grateful for this up-to-date supplement to her *Répertoire critique* (Paris, 1933), which located original cahiers and their editions. The *Supplément*, like her earlier studies, demonstrates Miss Hyslop's mastery of historical background and detail, bibliographical skill, and perfect familiarity with French archives. Extracting, checking, and correcting the information reported by departmental archivists and local historians required extraordinary patience and diplomacy. Special study of each circumscription enabled her to complete these data and to distinguish true cahiers and official *procès-verbaux* of electoral assemblies from similar unofficial and private documents often confused with them. Though less ambitious than Brette's unfinished *Recueil*, Miss Hyslop's studies supplement and complete it admirably. The author insists that her compilation is not definitive. No project involving some 25,000 scattered cahiers could be. Additional manuscript cahiers will turn up when unclassified *fonds* in departmental, communal, and private archives are investigated. There are omissions of references to several older published texts because of the obscurity of innumerable publications on local history. Unfortunately, lack of credits prevented the commission from issuing a new edition of the *Répertoire*. This is particularly regrettable because it is out of print. Inconveniences involve the necessity for simultaneous consultation of both volumes, organization of material by *baillages* rather than by *départements*, and occasional confusion between old and new parish names. Improvements include data on Guadeloupe, correct placing of Dol, index of lower clergy and gild cahiers, and indications of war losses. The latter are more than offset by discovery of texts since 1931. Together the *Répertoire* and *Supplément* constitute the most complete and reliable guide to the cahiers available.

DAVID L. DOWD, *University of Florida*

FRENCH INVENTIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Shelby T. McCloy*. (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1952, pp. viii, 212, \$4.50.) The technical achievements of French scientists and inventors have not been adequately presented to readers without special technical knowledge. Despite the great importance of much fundamental work in the mechanical and chemical fields, the accomplishments of the French have not competed successfully in general interest with the advances in technology in England. The general purpose of the book would have been more completely achieved if Professor McCloy had stressed more emphatically the work in fields of light engineering, notably the development of watches and the machine tools in the precision field. There were improvements in water wheels, also, that were not conspicuous in their time, though they led to the hydraulic turbine, which was a major achievement. The work in these fields contributed much to the ultimate development of power engineering, though it does not command the atten-

tion of the general reader. There is a great deal of interesting material. Most of us know of the Montgolfier by name, but we rarely find any proper account of their work with the balloon. The mechanical telegraph, worked by semaphore signals, may be known by bare reference, but no complete documentation or description is accessible. The early history of the oil lamp with a glass chimney and a well-designed wick is of great significance, highly characteristic of inventive work in France. The chapters on papermaking and the chemical industries contain much material that will be new to any but the best informed readers. In both fields, inventions of capital importance were made in France. The treatment of textile machinery and geared mechanisms is not so useful. The development of these machines cannot be appreciated without more emphasis upon technical detail than was planned in this record of invention. These chapters, too, fall more directly within the limits of the treatise of Charles Ballot and are therefore less novel. ABBOTT PAYSON USHER, *Harvard University*

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE EN BELGIQUE. Volume V, L'EGLISE DES PAYS-BAS, 1559-1633. By E. de Moreau, S.J. [Museum Lessianum, Section historique, no. 15.] (Brussels, L'Edition Universelle, 1952, pp. 544, 325 fr. belges.) This latest volume of Moreau's history of the Belgian church was published shortly after the author's death. It once again bears witness to his lifelong devotion to the history of the Catholic Church of his country. As in the earlier volumes of the series the author has conscientiously used the recent literature on his subject, and supplemented it with the results of his own investigations. Some of the chapters are rich in new material, especially those on the political role played by the clergy during the revolt against Spain, and on the beginnings of the educational system of the monastic orders. Unfortunately, some of the major problems of the religious history of the Netherlands during this period are discussed inadequately. The subtitle is slightly misleading, as the author

has confined his attention mainly to the area of present-day Belgium and included data on the religious situation in the Northern Netherlands only for the period prior to 1579. His knowledge of the history of the Dutch Republic is superficial, as appears from the scarcity of Dutch sources quoted and the misspelling of some of these. It is therefore not surprising that he does not offer any new solution to the problem why the South remained solidly Catholic and the North became predominantly Protestant. Neither has the author satisfactorily explained why the triumph of Catholicism in the South was followed by a cultural decline, in such sharp contrast to the vigor of the civilization in the North. The author denies any responsibility of the Catholic Church for the intellectual and economic inertia in Belgium during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and asserts, not very convincingly, that the difference in cultural level between the North and the South was due to the fact that Belgium served as a bulwark against French aggression. The work is, however, a reliable source of information on the internal history of the Belgian church. It is to be hoped that the last volume, dealing with the period up to 1789 and completed as manuscript, will be published shortly.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

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SCHARNHORST: SCHICKSAL UND GEISTIGE WELT. EIN FRAGMENT. By Rudolf Stadelmann. Preface by Hans Rothfels. (Wiesbaden, Limes, 1952, pp. 192, DM 9.80.) The author of this work died in 1949 at the age of forty-seven. He was not merely productive; like many of his generation irrespective of country he was investigating the kinds of historical problems and was seeking the kinds of concepts and methods for treating them which were meaningful to himself and to his contemporaries. One has the impression that he had not yet found the solution; but the sincerity of his endeavor and the high value of his thought in the midst of the search may be seen from this fragment. In an appreciative preface Professor Rothfels explains that the two chapters published in this volume were completed just before the outbreak of World War II. They were found among the author's papers as the only part of a large-scale study of Scharnhorst that he was able to complete. While they deal almost entirely with the pre-reform years, they cover two essential topics for an understanding not merely of Scharnhorst's life (1756-1813) but of the fate of Prussia and Germany. In the first chapter the author has related Scharnhorst's personal career to that of his nation and of the state of his adoption; in the second he has used the method of *Geistesgeschichte* to analyze the content of Scharnhorst's intellect and spirit. In each chapter he has searched for light on problems which deeply concern us, the relation between an individual and the society in which he lived, the sources of inspiration of a person determined not to drift with events but to assist in shaping the course into the future. Acutely aware of the responsibility of his profession to society, Stadelmann was one of the intellectual leaders in the revival of a free Germany and Europe. His death is a tragedy. EUGENE N. ANDERSON, *University of Nebraska*

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Gaudens Megaro

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Far Eastern History

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OPEN DOOR DIPLOMAT: THE LIFE OF W. W. ROCKHILL. By Paul A. Varg. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXXIII, No. 4.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1952, pp. ix, 141, cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.50.) The remarkable career of William Rockhill has long invited a competent biography, such as *Open Door Diplomat* provides. Rockhill's experiences were varied (an understatement!): they included education at St. Cyr and a commission in the Foreign Legion: cattle ranching in New Mexico: exploration in Tibet and the position of adviser to the Dalai Lama: thirty years in the American foreign service with posts in China, the Balkans, Russia, and Turkey, and service as Assistant Secretary of State: and, throughout his life, intensive study of Tibetan and Chinese language and culture and the publication of scholarly works in these fields. Rockhill is chiefly known in the history of American foreign policy for his activity in the preparation of the Open Door notes of 1899. In this connection the author of this study combats the view that the notes were solely concerned with equality of commercial opportunity by bringing from the Rockhill papers evidence that Rockhill's purpose was to preserve China's integrity and independence as necessary conditions to an open door, a purpose to which he held throughout his career. Although the book is true to its title in stressing Rockhill's achievements in the formulation and carrying out of American foreign policy, it also gives a convincing picture of Rockhill as an individual and an account of his personal life. He was "a kind of driving perfectionist, a zealous scholar escaping from the world, a man incapable of personal warmth" (p.6). The last chapter, "First and Foremost a Scholar," deals with what was in Rockhill's view the primary activity of his life. He is the forerunner and exemplar of the area experts in the foreign service, the ancestor of the Kennans and the Bohlens of today, but with a difference. Where others have become scholars in order to be diplomats, Rockhill became a diplomat in order to be a scholar. This able study of Rockhill is based on a substantial body of primary material, notably the Rockhill papers and the archives of the Department of State.

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Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

THE NEW DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By *Michael Martin* and *Leonard Gelber*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. vi, 695, \$10.00.) How should one proceed in reviewing a dictionary of American history? My method has been simple. First I browsed extensively, then I made a list of about fifty subjects about which I thought I had sufficient knowledge to test the adequacy of the text in the *Dictionary*, then I compared this volume with the 1931 revision of the J. Franklin Jameson *Dictionary of United States History*, and finally I spent more hours than were profitable for the review in reading items selected at random. The result is that *The New Dictionary* must receive a good mark. The descriptions are clear, they give the essential facts which would be wanted by persons using the *Dictionary*, and most important of all the standards of accuracy are high. There are, of course, questions that can be raised. Why was Beaumarchais included but not Vergennes, why Beard but not Channing, Hildreth, or McMaster, why Tugwell but not Moley, or for that matter Alger Hiss? It is also possible to find some mistakes. Under "Homestead Act" it is erroneously stated that "By 1890 all available federal land had been settled under the provisions of the legislation." Under "Maximilian Affair," Seward is reported as having demanded the evacuation of the French from Mexico during the Civil War. Under "Urbanization" the date by which fifty per cent of the population became urban is twenty years too early. The account of the "Critical Period" is pure John Fiske with no indication that later scholars have challenged or revised that interpretation. These, let it be repeated, are the exceptional items to which exception can be taken and are, in fact, almost all that were uncovered. The striking difference between this and the Jameson *Dictionary*, aside from the supplementary tables and materials the latter included, is that the authors have devoted a surprisingly large proportion of space to persons and subjects that have become a part of American history during the past generation. This was undoubtedly the right thing to do both to increase the usefulness of the volume and to promote its sales. I cannot refrain from a final comment resulting from turning the pages of both of these dictionaries.

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents, except where otherwise indicated.

America, if these are an accurate index, has certainly been a man's world. If someone with nothing better to do were to count the number of individual men and women considered important enough for inclusion the difference would be startling. I sometimes wonder if that was *wie es eigentlich gewesen* or if, as my female friends insist, it is that way because the men have written the histories.

W. STULL HOLT, *University of Washington*

MARRIAGE, MORALS, AND SEX IN AMERICA: A HISTORY OF IDEAS. By *Sidney Ditzion*. (New York, Bookman Associates, 1953, pp. 440, \$4.50.) As the subtitle suggests, this is essentially a history of the literature of the subject, in which the conditions of women's actual status in America in any period are only incidentally revealed. The organization of the book is somewhat severely chronological, rather than topical, and hence the major trends are not highlighted. Beginning with a background of English writings of the late seventeenth, the eighteenth, and the early nineteenth centuries, the author ranges widely through the developing demands in both England and America for the recognition of the rights of women vis-à-vis men in regard to education, control of children and property, divorce, contraception, free love, economic opportunity, and the suffrage. The earliest writings were largely those, by authors of either sex, admonishing women meekly to accept their role of subordination to men, with some plea to the latter to show kindness and understanding toward the females given to their rule. The Age of Enlightenment and the Romantic Revolution introduced bold proposals, later taken up by leaders of communitarian experiments and by philosophical anarchists. The long volume ends with the predominance of rational and scientific sociology and psychology. A digest of each writer's ideas, together with something on their derivation, is presented in completely objective fashion, favoring neither reformer nor reactionary. The lack of emphasis on trends or major patterns may discourage many historians from trying to read through the entire book. But all will find it of real value as a reference work and will welcome the excellent index, which covers hundreds of writers and scores of topics.

W. G.

PAPERMAKING IN PIONEER AMERICA. By *Dard Hunter*, Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952, pp. xiv, 178, plates, \$6.50.) The author is a leading American authority on the history of papermaking by hand in America, as attested by his numerous works on the subject. He is director of the Dard Hunter Paper Museum at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Throughout his career he has dedicated himself to the early crafts of paper- and type-making and hand printing. His appreciation of these early arts is evidenced both in the foreword and in the contents of this volume. These Rosenbach lectures are addressed not to the specialist but to the general student of early American history, and from them the latter will glean a rich reward. Following introductory chapters on the beginning of papermaking and its manufacture, the author discusses its introduction in eighteen American colonies and states, beginning with Pennsylvania in 1690 and ending with Tennessee in 1811. One of two concluding chapters deals with Nathan Sellers of Philadelphia, pioneer paper-mold maker, whose account books beginning in 1776 constitute, with the diary of Ebenezer Stedman of Kentucky, unique sources. The illustrations, principally early watermarks, have been chosen with noteworthy discrimination. The concluding chapter introduces Mr. Hunter's effort to compile a check list, never before attempted, of early American papermakers. Though it includes more than 400 individuals and firms, many others will need to be added before such a list is definitive. The publication of such works

as George L. McKay's register and Glenn and Brown's directory will be of inestimable help in the future. The contributions of Dard Hunter, as exhibited in this volume and elsewhere, will stand in the service of the historian in precisely the same manner as the researches of Wroth, McMurtrie, and others in the history of early American printing.

JOHN E. POMFRET, *Huntington Library*

THE AMERICAN CHURCH OF THE PROTESTANT HERITAGE. Edited by *Vergilius Ferm*, Compton Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy in the College of Wooster. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1953, pp. 481, \$6.00.) This volume was prepared under the experienced editorship of Professor Ferm, who enlisted the services of twenty-one contributors who are members of the respective groups about which they have written. Despite the fact that there are great differences among the denominations with reference to influence, membership, and activity in terms of years, there is a surprisingly slight variation in the number of pages allotted to each contributor. With few exceptions, the expositors are professors of church history or of theology on the faculties of denominational theological seminaries and colleges; and in spite of marked denominational preferences they have avoided polemics and have kept their pages clean of the acrimony that has frequently intruded in church histories. Religious controversy has a bad name; but some of the greatest literature of the church has been the product of controversy. A country which has emphasized individual religion, as opposed to corporate religion, and has been so prolific in the formation of sects, as has the United States, ought not to frown on sectarianism. Almost every sect—a designation which, according to the editor, "is here ignored as altogether out-moded"—grew out of controversy, aroused by Christians who felt the need of a more experimental and vital religion. It is in this spirit that the contributors approached and executed their assignments. In a volume of this character, which unavoidably assumes the character of a compendium, there are omissions and degrees of emphasis. But clergymen and laymen will find it a useful foundation for more advanced study of the European background, the impact of the American environment, doctrinal and confessional bases, prominent leaders, educational institutions, publication activity, membership, and recent trends within the framework of each denomination.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, *University of Minnesota*

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1778-1838. By *Walter Brownlow Posey*. (Richmond, John Knox Press, 1952, pp. 192, \$2.50.) This is a companion piece to the author's earlier volume, *The Development of Methodism in the Old Southwest, 1783-1824*, and is to be followed by an analysis of Baptist development in the same region. The sources consisted of a wide variety of church records, found chiefly in the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, North Carolina, and in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. The first session book of the oldest Presbyterian church in Mississippi is included as an appendix to the text. The study opens with a brief account of the Scotch-Irish advance into Tennessee and Kentucky and an introduction to Presbyterian polity. The church had a somewhat mixed attitude toward the Great Revival of 1800, and the revivalist element seceded to form the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. While Methodists and Baptists proved eager to adjust their doctrines, their organization, and their techniques to frontier needs, Presbyterians were reluctant to do so. Thus they did not win a great increase in numbers as compared with the two leading denominations of this area. But they contributed greatly, the author maintains, to its educational, cultural, and moral improvement. Their work included

efforts to better the lot of Indians and Negroes as well as that of the white settlers. Other topics discussed are the ministers, their sermons, church buildings and services, attitudes toward liquor and slavery, and agencies of interdenominational co-operation. Perhaps somewhat slighted is theology, often neglected by writers of church history. The last chapter gives an account of the reasons for the Old School-New School split. "No Protestant church stood more staunchly by its doctrines," the author remarks, "and for this no church paid a greater price in membership." The book is scholarly, well-documented, and carefully written. It is a useful supplement, in microcosm, to William W. Sweet's recent book, *Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840*.
IRA V. BROWN, *Pennsylvania State College*

IMPRESSIONS OF LINCOLN AND THE CIVIL WAR: A FOREIGNER'S ACCOUNT. By Marquis *Adolphe de Chambrun*. Translated from the French by General *Aldebert de Chambrun*. (New York, Random House, 1952, pp. x, 174, \$2.75.) In December, 1864, Adolphe de Chambrun, a young French lawyer and journalist whose liberal writings had incurred the disfavor of Louis Napoleon, embarked for the United States to find a congenial occupation and a new home where his family might join him. His marriage to Martha de Corcelle, a granddaughter of Lafayette, and his friendship with Alexis de Tocqueville assured him of a cordial welcome. Soon he was a familiar figure in Washington's inner circles. Chambrun sat among the favored guests at Lincoln's second inauguration and within a few weeks had become so intimate with the President that he accompanied him on his last visit to Grant's headquarters and entered Petersburg and Richmond with him after Lee's departure. As the *River Queen* took the presidential party back to Washington, he heard the Lincolns talk nostalgically of Springfield, and listened while the President read passages from *Macbeth*. He sat inside the White House while Lincoln appealed to a great crowd outside to act mercifully toward the South. On the night of April 14, roused by a fellow lodger, he joined the throng in front of the modest house where the President lay dying. This book is comprised of the letters that Chambrun wrote regularly to his wife from December 31, 1864, to June 30, 1865. Discovered only two years ago among the effects of Chambrun's daughter Thérèse, when she died in Algiers, and edited by his younger son, they are deprived of their originality, so far as Lincoln is concerned, by reason of the publication of an article by Chambrun, "Personal Recollections of Mr. Lincoln," in *Scribner's* magazine of January 9, 1893. This is not readily available, however, and lacks the intimacy and freshness of letters from husband to wife. Moreover, in addition to Chambrun's perceptive observations and judgments of Lincoln, the letters also contain close-range appraisals of Sumner, Seward, Butler, Johnson, and Grant, along with a commentary on events. Though the book is scarcely of major importance and might have been more amply edited, students of the Civil War period will find it useful and enjoyable.

BENJAMIN P. THOMAS, *Springfield, Illinois*

PROUD KATE: PORTRAIT OF AN AMBITIOUS WOMAN. By *Ishbel Ross*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953, pp. 309, \$4.00.) Inevitably, the story of Salmon Portland Chase's daughter must be his story, too. Throughout his career as governor, senator, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief Justice of the United States, they were separated only at rare intervals, and their influence upon one another was both profound and decisive. At the hands of Miss Ross, Chase has much the better of it. He is represented as a strange admixture of competence, piety, and ambition; sometimes devious, sometimes foolish, always vain, frequently duped and self-deluded, a casualty to uncomprehending disappointment, but never unmindful of the public

consideration to which his years of successful public service seemed so richly to entitle him. In Kate and in her characteristics, inherited and acquired, the author presents a far less appealing creature. It is almost suspiciously contended that her beauty was surpassing. It is urged that she possessed uncommon intellectual faculties, manifested in extraordinary political sensitivity. There are unsupported charges that she was endowed with wit. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that she could attract men even more easily than she could distract women. She was arrogant, conniving, sophisticated, extravagant, heedless. She was governed by a single purpose: the gratification of her father's consuming passion for the presidency. Her marriage to William Sprague, the weak but wealthy governor of Rhode Island, enabled Kate to maintain an elaborate ménage, entertain lavishly, inspire the jealousy of rival hostesses, indulge an instinct for finery and ostentation, and surround herself with the company of potentially useful people. Endowed with these formidable personal qualities and glittering tangible assets, it is difficult to understand how Kate Chase Sprague was thwarted in the attainment of her object. But she failed. And after Salmon Chase departed this life with a new dignity, her failure was complete. What had been a shimmering reputation was forfeited to notoriety and gossip, followed by a sordid divorce, and the long, last years of immoderate poverty. Her legend was obscured, her existence was forgotten, her passing was generally ignored. The woman had endured stark tragedy. But despite the research that has gone into this relation of it, there are a few of the common accidents of careless editing, and, what is more distressing, occasional excesses of superlatives, adjectives, and an artificially heated style. Kate Chase Sprague was not just a facile and surface conglomerate of Helen of Troy, Becky Sharp, and the *femme fatale* of a Sunday supplement. Her memory has a claim to subtleties which so far have been denied to her. But her personality is strong enough to break through the superficial faults of a biography and to invest it with some of the fascination which she exercised so cleverly so long ago.

DAVID C. MEARNs, *Washington, D. C.*

ALWAYS THE YOUNG STRANGERS. By Carl Sandburg. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1952, pp. 445, \$5.00.) Today the world delights to honor a great American, poet, folklorist, novelist, and historian (and it is difficult to know in what order to list these widely different literary achievements). In the years of his maturity, as Governor Adlai Stevenson has said, Carl Sandburg has come to epitomize the American dream, and he is the best-known and best-beloved of all those Scandinavian-Americans who have brought honor to the land that welcomed and offered some sort of opportunity to, if it did not always treat with kindness, their immigrant fathers. This book, charmingly called *Always the Young Strangers*, is the account of the years before Sandburg began that slow advance to the appreciation and recognition that made his seventy-fifth birthday celebration a great event in Galesburg, where he was born and where those first twenty years were lived, and in Chicago where a gala dinner was attended by hundreds of eminent men and women. As the first volume of what, one hopes, may be an autobiography of Carl Sandburg, this book is an utterly frank and dispassionate, unsentimental and unnostalgic account of the years from early childhood—and one is astonished at the clarity and detail of his memories of those days—to his acceptance as a student in Lombard College. In all the book there is no hint of the work and the fame to come, no inkling of the poet's vocabulary and cadence that were to make even his prose so remarkable. It is written simply and in the language and idiom of his boyhood but with a vividness and insight that mark it indelibly as the work of a great writer. The story is that of a Swedish family in a prairie town which had already had more than forty years of growth before Carl

Sandburg was born there in 1878. Illinois was no longer frontier country, and the characteristics of the area and the town were already set. Founded by men of New England background, its colleges and churches were built before the railroads—and it is a junction point on the Chicago Burlington and Quincy road and is also on the mainline of the Santa Fe—brought in thousands of Irish Catholics, and the Swedish migration of the post-Civil War years added the third distinct ethnic element to the town's culture. Sandburg's father was, from the beginning, a machinist in the shops of what Galesburg still calls the "Q," and his seven children were born and reared within walking distance of those shops. An older sister went on from the grammar school to the town high school, but Carl left school when he was eleven and, for a decade, the money he received for the innumerable jobs he managed to obtain helped the family through the hard times of the 1890's. He delivered newspapers and milk, he cleaned offices, a drugstore, a barber shop, and the town theater, and learned to know and evaluate the community's great and far from great citizens, from the rotund and pompous "Colonel" Clark E. Carr to the grocer's delivery boy who was to be the Republican boss of that part of Illinois. This volume of the Sandburg saga ends with his brief but laborious and unpleasant service in Puerto Rico in the Spanish-American War followed by his admission, tuition free, to Lombard College because of that service. Beyond the interest in the book as a part of a Sandburg autobiography, there is significance in it for any social historian, for it is an exact and careful picture of a midwestern town for twenty years of its history. For a reviewer who, too, was born there and lived its life, day by day for another twenty years, although some years later than did Sandburg, it has an especial interest. Every place, every person, even every colloquialism, and every event which can be checked is true in fact and in spirit. Reading the book is, and will be for many whose early years were passed in similar surroundings, a reliving of one's youth with a sympathy and understanding that are in part due to the clear vision of the author of *Always the Young Strangers*.

ALICE FELT TYLER, *University of Minnesota*

THE DOCTORS JACOBI. By Rhoda Truax. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1952, pp. 270, \$3.50.) This book is a combined biography of two pioneer doctors, the Jacobis, who represented the best in medical practice and teaching in America during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Each had won a considerable degree of individual distinction before they met to form a thoroughly happy union in marriage. Mary Putnam, daughter of a tolerant and progressive New York publisher, was an unusual woman physician, who rose to a station of high respectability at a time when the few female doctors in America were as a rule held in low esteem by male practitioners. After her graduation from the New York College of Pharmacy and the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia, which gave her a very inadequate training for practice, she went abroad to secure the best medical education available at the time. Her ambition and the possession of a superior mind won for her the distinction of being the first woman student ever to be admitted to the École de Médecine of Paris. Her graduation with honors from that institution and her subsequent practical experience in pathology and clinical neurology under world-renowned French doctors gave her unexpected recognition by the medical profession when she returned to her own country. She soon found herself with another honor, that of being the first woman physician to be admitted to the New York County Medical Society on nomination by Dr. Abraham Jacobi, president of the society, whom she knew at the time only by reputation. It was following delivery of her first scientific paper before the society on the subject of "congenital heart disease" when the romance between Dr. Putnam

and Dr. Jacobi began out of mutual admiration. Abraham Jacobi was an immigrant Jewish physician who had risen from a state of obscurity, poverty, and political oppression in Germany to freedom and a successful professional career in America. His fierce love of freedom and social idealism had brought him to America. Here his superior basic training, progressive idealism and impressive personality combined to insure his success as a leader for many progressive causes in his adopted country. While he was at first a general medical practitioner, in the latter decades of his life he emphasized pediatrics in his practice and teaching so consistently that he was acclaimed as the father of that specialty in America. He was a dynamic organizer and a past master of the art of introducing new scientific developments into clinical practice. It was on the basis of these personal traits and achievements, rather than on any profound original discoveries of his own, that his reputation was founded. As a reward for his devotion to high medical standards, he received during his lifetime nearly every form of professional recognition that could be offered by his fellow citizens and medical colleagues. Perhaps, the individual careers of Mary Putnam Jacobi and Abraham Jacobi could have been made more luminous by the author's writing two separate biographies, instead of this joint one. Fictionalizing and romanticizing their married lives together, as the author has done with some skill, probably makes the book more enjoyable reading for many lay and some professional readers, but this style of presentation detracts noticeably from the sober biography as a record of the times.

IRVINE McQUARRIE, M.D., *University of Minnesota*

GIVE THE LADY WHAT SHE WANTS! THE STORY OF MARSHALL FIELD & COMPANY. By Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan. (Chicago, Rand McNally, 1952, pp. 384, \$4.50.) One of the striking things about the American democracy is the extent to which it permits, or even encourages the development of differences among individuals. Another striking feature of our economy is the continuous life of industrial and commercial firms, largely detached from any rules of heredity. The story of the first hundred years in the development of Marshall Field and Company as told in *Give the Lady What She Wants*, illustrates each of these points. Only a block-long parade of men marches through the pages, starting with Potter Palmer and ending with James Palmer, who is no relative of his earlier namesake. These are the men responsible for a hundred years of major decisions which shaped the institution and forced its growth. We see clearly the interplay of such diverse characters as Marshall Field and Levi Leiter, John Shedd and Harry Selfridge, Frederick Corley and James McKinsey. The entire list of mentioned individuals is short, of course, relative to the large number of unnamed buyers who implemented policies and who constituted the hard core of the firm. It is almost infinitesimal compared to the anonymous thousands of rank-and-file employees. These few men are pictured as being responsible for such things as the slogan which is the title of the book under review; the quick action that saved the firm after the great fire; the beginning of the retail empire on State Street; the huge Merchandise Mart; the gradual evolution of the retail store from catering merely to the feminine "carriage trade" to include a men's store, a moderate-priced basement store, and final recognition of a nearly classless clientele; experimental change in the balance between wholesaling, manufacturing, and retailing activities of the firm. As a result of these decisions the present Marshall Field and Company bears little outward resemblance to the original P. Palmer, Dry Goods and Carpets. But the spiritual continuity is conspicuous. It is made clear that the life of the firm parallels and is almost chronologically coextensive with that of Chicago. Consequently interest in the book is enhanced when it is read in conjunction with other recent publications

such as *Chicago Medium Rare*, as well as others concerning the firm like Emily Kimbrough's *Through Charley's Door*. The latter book adds a sparkle in the telling which is somewhat lacking in *Give the Lady What She Wants*.

ROLAND S. VAILE, *University of Minnesota*

WILLIAM CONANT CHURCH AND THE ARMY AND NAVY JOURNAL. By Donald Nevius Bigelow, Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 576.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1952, pp. viii, 266, \$3.75.) The preface declares that this is "in no sense . . . a definitive biography." Church was an important figure only through the position of the *Army and Navy Journal*, with which his life was closely entwined, but the *Journal* figures in only about half the book. The rest is devoted to ancestry, parentage, education, character—all that seems necessary to make a biography "definitive." Initiated into the newspaper business at the age of nineteen, Church became a correspondent of New York papers in 1861, "covering" the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* and the peninsular campaign. He served for eight months as a captain of volunteers on inspection and commissary duties and then resigned to establish the *Army and Navy Journal*. (He received a brevet—i.e., honorary commission as lieutenant colonel in 1865.) The *Journal's* primary functions were to furnish accurate news of the war and editorial opposition to disloyal agitators. It also published articles of technical or professional interest. These filled a substantial portion of its space after the end of the war. Professional magazines of the several arms of the service were unknown until near the end of the century and the *Journal* to some extent fulfilled their function until such periodicals took over the field, when it became strictly a newspaper of the armed services, Church continuing as editor up to the age of eighty-one. Of all the *Journal's* varied activities this book gives a careful analysis. Such errors as this reviewer is able to detect are few and of no consequence whatever. Painstaking research is evident throughout and its fruits are set forth in such pleasantly readable fashion that one is ashamed to question whether the subject is important enough to justify it. THOMAS M. SPAULDING, *Washington, D. C.*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1726-1730, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. [Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Volume VIII.] (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1951, pp. xii, 856, \$7.50.) This volume is delightfully written as well as being a historical document of great interest. It would seem a work of immense labor, resulting in little value, to trace the lives of all the boys who graduated from Harvard College in the classes from 1726 to 1730. Actually this very comprehensiveness is what makes the book important. There were many distinguished members of these classes: Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, who was a Loyalist, a thinker never afraid to take the unpopular side, who believed that "next to religion a sound currency was the most important ingredient of society," a man who defended king and Parliament because they represented law, but who was nevertheless passionately loyal to New England, a man hated by some of his famous contemporaries, who yet exerted a great and beneficent influence; or Jonathan Trumbull, governor of Connecticut, a Whig, a politician through and through, shifty in his beliefs but revered by many; or Jonathan Belcher, who spent a large part of his life in London, then thirteen years in Ireland, and finally became chief justice and later an unsuccessful governor of Nova Scotia, the man who was responsible for driving out the Acadians. One might think that all had been said about men such as these, but Mr. Shipton, through intense study of family papers and published letters and contemporary newspapers, has added much of interest and value. One might think, also, that it was useless to dig into the lives of men who were merely listed in a college catalogue, but Mr. Shipton brings them to life, as in the case of Joseph Green, who was a great wit, a distiller of rum, a writer of bawdy verse; or Nathan Stone, minister, chiefly known as one who frightened chil-

dren with his descriptions of hell; even one who died of "gout of the stomach," probably from too much dining out. In reading the book one discovers that they are necessary to complete the tapestry of the period. These were stirring times, what with Indian wars, with the seething political unrest which ended in the Revolutionary War, with the Great Awakening in the mid-century. There were more graduates who became ministers than entered any other profession, but there was a goodly sprinkling of doctors and frontier fighters, merchants and judges, famous wits, and even poets of a sort. Some made their fortunes, some, like Israel Williams and Andrew Crosswell, lived stormy and quarrelsome lives. Some, like Nathaniel Saltonstall, were "ring-leaders in revelings and making great rackets and hollowings and tumultuous and confused noises in the College yard," who later became sober and altogether worthy citizens, as are their descendants today. The clergy seem to have been the most quarrelsome, but as religion was the most talked of subject and as all the details of its observance seemed of vital importance, this is perhaps natural. These ministers were generally Congregationalists. Their ancestors had left England to escape persecution and to find freedom of religion, but in the colonies they seem, with rare exceptions, to have been willing to persecute any who did not agree with them. The book gives in most readable form a vivid picture of New England in the late colonial days, of many of its citizens, both important and unimportant. It is the successful result of intense research, the facts clearly stated and wisely evaluated.

W. R. CASTLE, *Washington, D. C.*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE COLONIAL RECORDS OF SOUTH CAROLINA: THE JOURNAL OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1739-MARCH 26, 1741. Edited by J. H. Easterby. (Columbia, Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1952, pp. xi, 613.) This second volume in the newly inaugurated series of *The Colonial Records of South Carolina* has followed the first with admirable promptness. The very carefully thought out editorial method applied in the earlier volume has been found serviceable, and there are no deviations here except that the index has been explained and expanded and it has been found necessary to split the Commons House Journal for the General Assembly of 1739-1742 into two parts (of which this volume is the first) on account of its bulk. The main reason for the greater bulk of the record was the unprecedented series of calamities that fell upon the province in rapid succession in 1739-1740. The first of these was the great slave insurrection in the Stono River region in September, 1739. This was followed by an epidemic of smallpox, and then early in the summer of 1740 word came that General Oglethorpe's expedition to dislodge the Spaniards from St. Augustine had failed. South Carolina had contributed heavily in men, money, and materials to this effort, and its failure endangered Charleston and the whole Carolina coast. Finally, on November 18, 1740, the very day on which the House had been summoned to meet, fire destroyed a considerable part of the city of Charleston. On account of these events there were frequent special sessions of the Assembly, and much of the legislation was of an emergency nature. Particularly significant were the various measures adopted to prevent further servile outbreaks, among them being a whole series of awards (graduated from manumission on down to gifts of clothing and cash) to Negroes who had taken their masters' side against the rebels. The several emergencies also forced upon the two houses a compromise on the constitutional question whether the council had the right to amend a money bill. The settlement pleased neither house, but Mr. Easterby points out that it was to remain as a working arrangement until the Revolution. Virtually none of these important proceedings has been in print before, and it is a matter for general congratulation that they are now being presented in so distinguished and usable a form.

L. H. BUTTERFIELD, *Institute of Early American History and Culture*

VIRGINIANS AT HOME: FAMILY LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Edmund S. Morgan. [Williamsburg in America Series, II.] (Williamsburg, Va., Colonial Williamsburg, 1952, pp. ix, 99, \$2.10.) This is a little book which admirably fulfills its intention of portraying the family in colonial Virginia and of doing it in terms that will appeal even to readers with no knowledge of the colonial scene. It is written with wit and charm and enlivened by many carefully chosen illustrations. Its simplicity is somewhat deceptive, for Mr. Morgan brings to bear upon this question a rich knowledge of colonial life, particularly of the colonial family. The family is a difficult subject upon which the sources are quite limited and these limitations do determine the extent of the picture that can be painted. The author has had to rely primarily upon the *Virginia Gazette*s and such famous diaries as those of William Byrd and Philip Vickers Fithian. Inevitably, it is the families of the planter aristocrats which emerge with the greatest clarity. Despite Mr. Morgan's interest in the middling and inferior sorts and in the farmers of the Great Valley, they remain shadowy figures. As a matter of fact, more can be learned of the life of the slave than of the poorer freeman. The book is pleasant reading, but much more as well. Readers will be attracted by the human interest of chapters on children, courtship, and recrea-

tion, but they will find a depth of understanding that will enlighten the most sophisticated.

BROOKE HINDLE, *New York University*

THE TEXAS REVOLUTION. By *William C. Binkley*. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1952, pp. viii, 132, \$2.50.) This study of the Texas Revolution is composed essentially of four lectures delivered by Professor Binkley as the thirteenth series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University. The first lecture, entitled "The Eve of Revolution," opens with the establishment of the Mexican Republic and the beginnings of Anglo-American colonization in 1821 and continues to illustrate by the chain of events through 1834 the fundamental differences between Mexican and Anglo-American approaches to political, economic, and social concepts. In his second section, "Preliminaries to the Revolution," Professor Binkley traces the growth of distrust between the two peoples, conclusively establishing his point that the Texas Revolution was neither "a part of a deliberate design of the South to extend the slave territory of the United States, . . . a plot of speculators to enhance the value of their investments, . . . [nor] a spontaneous uprising of outraged freemen against the threat of tyrannical oppression." The third lecture, "The Struggle for the Federal Constitution," is concerned primarily with a sweeping résumé of the political and military events which resulted in the Texans' final decision that the means and methods of social and governmental development which had operated in the United States would not work in their present situation and that their only alternative to complete subjugation was independence. The final section, "Independence and Political Stability," takes the Texans from the Declaration of Independence to the establishment of constitutional government. Publications in the series of which this study is a part carry no footnotes, but it must be obvious to even the most casual reader that the material here presented could not be other than the product of long and painstaking research into every facet of the subject. Professor Binkley has, for more than twenty years, been a student of the Texas Revolution, and although his modesty prevents his making a claim of presenting "an adequate synthesis," it is doubtful that any person will ever write a more objective and useful account of the Texas Revolution than that here presented. The value of the work is not in its establishment of new facts or new interpretations but in its condensation of the essential information into a unified encompassable account, the usefulness of which will doubtless show in subsequent writing of American history.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

HISTORY OF THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY: THE STORY OF ITS FIRST SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS, 1873-1948. By *James E. Pollard*. (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1952, pp. vii, 434.) This is a detailed chronological narrative of the administrative history of the land-grant state university of Ohio, now one of the world's two or three largest universities on one campus. The work is based mainly on the annual reports of the presidents, the minutes of the Board of Trustees, and the newspapers of Columbus. The author is director of the school of journalism at Ohio State. In general, Professor Pollard has sought to let the facts speak for themselves. The participants are also allowed to speak for themselves, and to present their interpretations of events, in hundreds of well-selected and often very significant quotations. Otherwise, the reader is usually left free to do his own interpreting. If the reviewer may offer one of his own interpretations, it is that probably no other state of the size and importance of Ohio has placed so great a handicap upon the qualitative development of its state university, in the form of a long tradition of political interference with it and suspicion of it. This was especially true during the first fifty years, but it is doubtful that the handicap has yet been fully overcome. The story is one of too much political control, coupled with perennially inadequate financial support. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that from the beginning, powerful political and sectarian groups in Ohio formed the habit of conducting intermittent political and psychological warfare against the state university, through pressures on the legislature and on the Board of Trustees. Because of the importance of the story it tells, this book is a work of great potential value for the study of the past, present, and future problems of American public higher education. In terms of literary grace, it cannot be compared with such a work as James Gray's beautifully written volume

on *The University of Minnesota, 1851-1951*. But in terms of providing valuable information about the experience of American state universities, the present work can be appropriately compared with the several volumes of *The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey* (to 1940), edited by Wilfred B. Shaw; and with *The University of Wisconsin, 1848-1925* (two volumes, 1949), by Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen. In addition, this volume has the advantage of recording a major university's experience with the special problems of more recent years, especially in the field of public relations, and in the context of a university whose problems in that field have long been extremely acute.

WALTON BEAN, *University of California, Berkeley*

THE ROAD TO SANTA FE: THE JOURNAL AND DIARIES OF GEORGE CHAMPLIN SIBLEY AND OTHERS PERTAINING TO THE SURVEYING AND MARKING OF A ROAD FROM THE MISSOURI FRONTIER TO THE SETTLEMENTS OF NEW MEXICO, 1825-27. Edited by *Kate L. Gregg*. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1952, pp. viii, 280, \$4.50.) Until this book appeared little was known about the survey of the Santa Fe Trail in 1825-27, the second national road surveyed into country controlled by a foreign power. Dr. Gregg has taken care of this void in a most adequate way in bringing together the fundamental documents. The book is a thorough piece of work; it will not have to be done again. Besides an adequate and interesting introduction, where the personnel of the commission, its staff, and the story of the expedition are discussed and evaluated, the volume contains the journals and diary of George Champlin Sibley, the diaries of Joseph Davis and Benjamin H. Reeves, the report of the commissioners, and letters written by Thomas Hart Benton, J. R. Poinsett, Sibley, Reeves, and Mexican officials. A short report of Archibald Gamble, secretary, and the contract with the men employed are also included. A picture of Sibley and a map of the road are the only illustrations. The conclusions that Benton conceived, nurtured, and planned the survey and that Sibley was the determined, efficient man who carried it to a successful conclusion are substantiated. Adroitly Benton built the "public demand" for the survey and got the appropriation, while Sibley, factor at Fort Osage from 1808 to 1822, was the strong, patient, and determined commissioner who saw the project through to completion, long after his fellow commissioners, Benjamin H. Reeves and Thomas Mather, tired of the project. The party had no great difficulty pushing to the Arkansas in the fall of 1825, making treaties with the Osage and Kansas Indians on the way. Getting the consent of the Mexican government to survey the way to the Spanish settlements, correcting the survey, marking the trail from the Missouri border to Council Grove, and finally getting their accounts paid by the government was a long, arduous task to which Sibley gave much time and close, patient attention. It was a thankless task, in a way, but the competent Sibley saw it through. Not until 1834, and after the accounts had been submitted the third time, did the government finally pay the last bill and close the project. Sibley's journal was lost for a hundred years; not until the officials of the National Archives found it and reported to Dr. Gregg, was the present project possible. One finds oneself wishing that Sibley, Reeves, and Davis had followed Benton's suggestion that the report be filled with information on the topography, crops, waterways, and Indian life of the region. Benton evidently wanted a document that would supply the vast storehouse of details that he was forever collecting. However, the documents are prosaic ones, telling of the discomforts, troubles, and frustrations of the party. It is a report of a hard and difficult task, and not one that would give a glowing report of a colorful and interesting region. Maybe it was not

published because it was the solid, hard truth and not an advertising piece, written by an imaginative dreamer.

W. FRANCIS ENGLISH, *University of Missouri*

IRON MILLIONAIRE: LIFE OF CHARLEMAGNE TOWER. By *Hal Bridges*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952, pp. xiii, 322, \$4.75.) This readable book provides information about the man Tower, his business activities, the Minnesota iron explorations, and some of the social and political fringes of the time. This is the success story of a man who worked hard, suffered great financial losses, and achieved his great ambition—to make a million dollars. The story is well told by Hal Bridges of the University of Arkansas, who had access to the previously unused, voluminous manuscript collection and business documents of Charlemagne Tower. This case study of an American businessman in the nineteenth-century post-Civil War era of expansion, shows how his greatest triumph and contribution came when, already in his seventies, he opened and developed the Vermilion Iron Range in northeastern Minnesota and built the Duluth and Iron Range Railroad to transport the ore to Lake Superior. In this book we see much of what made the world of business go around in the Gilded Age. Not all that we see is pretty; much is new and significant because this is the only full-length biography of Tower. With scholarship and animation, Bridges shows how a man of enterprise overcomes failure (he went bankrupt in the milling and distilling business), runs risks (he speculated in Schuylkill coal lands and Northern Pacific securities and lands), and attains final success (he reaped a fortune from the sale of his Minnesota iron and railroad interests). As a chapter in the economic history of the Northwest, the story of Charlemagne Tower's business activities is interesting and revealing. To this reviewer, however, the man himself emerges as one of the most uninteresting and uninspired individuals of the Gilded Age. Professor Bridges is to be complimented for making the chapters which treat Tower the individual as interesting as they are.

VINCENT P. CAROSSO, *Carnegie Institute of Technology*

FAR CORNER: A PERSONAL VIEW OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. By *Stewart H. Holbrook*. (New York, Macmillan, 1952, pp. viii, 270, \$3.75.) This book is, as the author says, "a personal view." It savors slightly of autobiography, enough at least to tell how Mr. Holbrook came to adopt the Northwest as his home some thirty years ago and to explain something of his feelings for the places and the people he found here. It is personal too in the choice of subject matter. The author loves a good story and a salty character and his book is full of both. There are chapters on place names and utopias, on Peter French the cattle king and Marcus Whitman the missionary, on Harry Tracy the outlaw, on Walla Walla's rawhide railroad and Erickson's saloon in Portland which boasted "the longest bar in the world." The treatment is discursive and informal and there is no attempt to be complete or systematic. These stories were written to be enjoyed without too much concern as to their deeper significance. It is their "folk" quality that gives them their charm. The chapter on "the changing forest" is better for its impressions of a changing way of living than for its assurances about the sustained yield. Economics and statistics do not belong here and wisely are excluded. Literary criticism likewise has no place, though there are references, somewhat too generous and uncritical, to fellow writers. But while Holbrook has little or no interest in the role of the teacher or scholar, he is nevertheless highly informative and his observations offer some of the best perspective on the events and people of the Northwest to be found anywhere. Refusing to take his characters too seriously he yet takes them seriously enough. Fact and legend stand in a nice relation to each other. Humor grows out

of a true sense of proportion and a deep sympathy with all kinds of people, both saint and sinner. One could wish that the historian would develop the power to treat the major events and personalities in Pacific Northwest history with as deft a touch as marks these sketches of the lesser ones.

CHARLES M. GATES, *University of Washington*

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Latin-American History

Joseph R. Barager¹

GENERAL

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES. No. 15: 1949. Prepared by the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. *Francisco Aguilera*, Editor. *Elsie Brown*, Acting Assistant Editor. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1952, pp. xii, 289, \$7.00.) There are some new names on the list of contributing editors to the present volume of the *Handbook*. Robert C. Smith has resumed his former responsibility for the Brazilian art section, replacing Hanna Deinhard; Raymond E. Crist and Concha Meléndez have succeeded Clarence F. Jones and John A. Crow; and the economics chapter has been reorganized with Raúl Prebisch, Raúl Ortiz, and Wendell C. Gordon replacing Miron Burgin and George Wythe. In another reorganization, Irving Rouse has joined the editors of the material on archaeology. Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg joins Preston E. James as a contributing editor for Brazilian geography; and Phyllis Carter assumes responsibility for a new subsection, "Statistics," in the general chapter. Elsie Brown replaced Charmion Shelby as assistant editor for this issue, in which the latter acted as a substitute for Roland D. Hussey in the Spanish American colonial history section. The editors of the volume's 2,963 items appear to have maintained the high standards set by their predecessors. This edition is appropriately dedicated to the memory of José Toribio Medina in recognition of the Chilean scholar's contributions to the development of bibliography in the Americas. J.R.B.

THE CARIBBEAN: PEOPLES, PROBLEMS, AND PROSPECTS. Edited by *A. Curtis Wilgus*. [School of Inter-American Studies Publication, Series I, Volume II.] (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1952, pp. xviii, 240, \$4.50.) Twenty authors contributed twenty short essays at the Second Annual Conference on the Caribbean at the University of Florida in December, 1951. These essays, with an introduction by A. Curtis Wilgus, make up the volume under review. The essays display considerable

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

variety of subject and of literary style; in general they are interesting and informative. The book is a credit to Dr. Wilgus and to the standards of the Caribbean Conference. Leaving behind the romance of the Spanish Main, and ignoring the controversies of the "Big Stick" and "Dollar Diplomacy" era, the authors spread before the reader's eyes a series of contemporary conditions and vital problems affecting the peoples of the Caribbean lands. Among these problems are fighting tropical disease, increasing the productivity of the land, industrialization, improving transportation, inviting foreign capital investments, educating the Indian and the backwoodsman, democratic government versus dictatorship, and international organization for co-operation and mutual assistance. The reader already familiar with the Caribbean will be brought up to date in many lines. The newcomer to the area will be impressed with its variety and scope. This reviewer would like to repeat a score of the new facts and stimulating ideas which this book contains. Space limitations forbid more than a résumé of two highlights: (1) the most interesting information for historians is John P. Harrison's revelation of the magnificent opportunities for research in Latin-American fields in the National Archives of the United States; (2) the most promising suggestion is Rexford G. Tugwell's demonstration of how United States aid to Caribbean republics could be made broad and continuous by including them in our state-aid system, as has been done in the case of Puerto Rico.

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JOSÉ MARTÍ: EPIC CHRONICLER OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE EIGHTIES. By *Manuel Pedro González*. With an Introduction by Sturgis E. Leavitt. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1953, pp. xiii, 79, \$3.00.) One ought to be grateful for any sincere attempt to bring to our ignorance greater knowledge of those leaders of action and thought of whom our sister republics are justly proud, and especially so if the subject is, like Martí, at the same time political leader and man of action, and that on a continental scale. Of Professor González' sincerity and high intentions there can be no doubt; he has been impressed and hurt by the neglect of his hero here in the United States and has cleverly chosen to correct the situation by concentrating on the many years the Cuban patriot spent in the United States and the many volumes of comments on persons and events here that flowed from his facile pen. He wrote on the spectacle of American life in the eighties, on Emerson and Longfellow, Whitman and Beecher, Wendell Phillips, Peter Cooper, as well as other figures from our past. He performed a notable service, even if these notices and obituaries are in my experience much less read today in Latin America than Mr. González claims. For similar services in more recent times by other Latin Americans, notably by Alceu Amoroso Lima during his term of office in the Pan-American Union, we can be thankful. However, one may question whether an audience of scholars—and who else is going to read this book?—will be won over by its piling up of adjectives and nouns of lyrical adulation and by its comparatively unsupported assertions about the role and the insights of José Martí. Belonging essentially to a pre-Lytton Strachey era it does not even possess the solid documentary values of the Victorian biography at its best. Martí and the realities of his New York year do not come to life and we still await an objective biography less crowded with the terms "apostle," "saint," and "genius" and more in the American grain.

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Historical Activities

The Calvin Coolidge Papers, which were deposited in the Library of Congress in 1929 by the former President himself, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Coolidge as a gift to the nation. Numbering some 82,000 pieces, the collection consists of correspondence conducted in the executive office during President Coolidge's administration. Its use is greatly facilitated by a card index which was prepared by the White House staff. Scholars have used the Coolidge Papers in the Library for many years, by permission of Mrs. Coolidge. Such permission will continue to be necessary and may be requested through the Chief of the Manuscripts Division.

The Honorable Breckinridge Long has added about 45,000 manuscripts to the collection of his papers already in the Library. The addition contains a certain amount of material supplementary to the earlier collection, which was centered about Mr. Long's service as Third Assistant Secretary of State during President Wilson's administration (1917-20), but it deals in the main with later phases of his career, such as his service as ambassador to Italy (1933-36), ambassador on special mission to Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and Uruguay (1938), and Assistant Secretary of State (1940-44).

A small group of papers of Jacob A. Riis (1849-1914), journalist and reformer, was presented to the Library by Mrs. Riis. The gift, comprising about 600 pieces, includes correspondence, notebooks in which Mr. Riis kept financial records, scrapbooks, engagement books for most of his speaking engagements from 1902 on, and the scripts of many of his speeches. In the correspondence, a series of letters he wrote to his son is of appealing interest, and there are letters from such well-known figures as Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Andrew Carnegie and Mrs. Carnegie, Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher, Charles Evans Hughes, John Burroughs, and others, which throw light on the activities of turn-of-the-century reformers and their supporters.

Some 6,000 papers of Levi Woodbury (1789-1851), senator, cabinet officer, and associate justice of the Supreme Court, were added to the Library's collection of Woodbury Papers by his great-grandchildren. The additional papers are composed principally of correspondence—press copies of his own letters and hundreds of letters he received during the years 1807 to 1845. Although they relate to many phases of Justice Woodbury's distinguished career, they are most numerous for the years he was Secretary of the Treasury (1834-41). A smaller number of the papers of his son, Charles Levi Woodbury, accompanied the gift. These include three letterbooks containing copies of his letters from 1850 to 1897, scrapbooks, a group of letters received, and papers relating to his work on the American fisheries question involved in the Washington Treaty of 1885.

Microfilms of a number of foreign manuscripts of American interest have been received. From the Public Record Office in London have come copies of all 68 volumes in Colonial Office series 1, composed of colonial manuscripts for the years 1574-1697; 21 volumes of Foreign Office legation archives, containing correspondence of the British Minister to the United States, 1876-78; 17 volumes of Treasury records, covering minute books from 1765 to 1784; and 40 volumes of selected admirals' journals and captains' logs in series 50 and 51 of the Admiralty records. Other manuscripts from England now available on microfilm are: the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, including letters and reports of missionaries and other correspondents in the American colonies (series A and B), as well as journals (1783-1901) and minutes (1823-1900) of the society; about 125 papers of the firm of Baring Brothers of London relating to Maine lands, 1792-1836; and 18 volumes of the Aberdeen Papers filed among the additional manuscripts in the British Museum. The papers of Baron Capellen van der Pol have been microfilmed from the originals in the Algemeen Rijksarchief at The Hague.

On January 7, 1953, the Minnesota Historical Society came into possession of a group of manuscripts of great importance—original sheets (67 pieces) of the notes made by Captain William Clark on the first 1,600 miles of the famous Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1803-1806. These notes, in journal form, begin on December 13, 1804, when the party was in winter camp near the mouth of the Missouri River, and continue until April 3, 1805, five days before the party left Fort Mandan, near present-day Bismarck, for the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. These manuscripts bear every evidence of having been written in the field. They are recorded on many sizes of paper, blotted, corrected, crowded, and written in a hand that is difficult to decipher. Their interest is heightened by rough sketch maps of the country being traversed and by drawings of pirogues and a keel boat, some of them tinted with water colors. They contain information which is not in the final copies of the journals, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites and published in 1904 as *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*.

Guide to Captured German Documents is the title of a 90-page pamphlet prepared under the direction of Dr. Fritz Epstein and issued by the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. It is made plain by the editor and the ultimate sponsor, the United States Air Force, that the guide includes only accessible material in unrestricted depositories such as the Hoover Library, the Library of Congress, etc. It does not touch the vast quantities of captured German documents scattered in various depositories here and abroad and presently withheld from use by researchers. This preliminary guide is an enlightened and encouraging step on the part of the War Documentation Project of the Air Force.

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives a collection of over 75,000 frames of microfilm of documents from the archives of the former

German Foreign Ministry. This consists of material on the Peace Conference of 1919 as well as of documentation on World War I additional to that already sent to the National Archives in 1951. Furthermore, a collection of over 50,000 frames of microfilm of the papers of Gustav Stresemann, covering the period down to his death in 1929, has also been delivered to the National Archives.

The National Archives has recently issued in processed form three more of their "Preliminary Inventories" (Nos. 50, 51, 52). They are: *Central Office Records of the National Resources Planning Board*, compiled by Virgil E. Baugh; *Records of the Office of Labor of the War Food Administration*, compiled by Harold T. Pinkett; *"Old Loans" Records of the Bureau of the Public Debt*, compiled by Philip D. Lagerquist, Archie L. Abney, and Lyle J. Holverstott.

The archives of the Archdiocese of York, containing about a million documents dating from the thirteenth century, have been deposited on permanent loan in St. Anthony's Hall and were opened to scholars this May under the custodianship of the recently established Borthwick Institute. The first director of the Institute is the Rev. J. S. Purvis, who as archivist to the diocesan registrar has long worked with the documents. Visiting scholars interested in ecclesiastical, social, and economic history will be welcome and given every facility of the Institute.

A five-volume collection of some 320 lithographs, entitled "Personalities of the French Revolution," covering the years 1774-1799, has recently been donated to Colgate University by Mrs. John Bernard Ekeley of Boulder, Colorado. Arranged in approximate chronological order, the volumes open appropriately with an engraving of Louis XVI and close with Barras, member of the Executive Directory. Best represented are members of the National Constituent Assembly (with over 100 prints scattered throughout the volumes) and deputies of the National Convention (about 50 in number).

Two years after publication of the *Virginia Gazette Index, 1736-1780*, twenty issues of this newspaper during 1755-56, printed by William Hunter, no copies of which had hitherto been known, have come to light in private hands. Photostat copies are available in the Virginia State Library and a microfilm master negative of all the issues (37) in this collection is in the Library of Congress. The newspapers themselves have been retained by the owner. The twenty issues, hitherto unknown, are as follows: May 16, June 6, 13, 20, 27, July 4, 11, 17, August 1, 8, 15, 29, November 21, 28, December 5, 26, 1755; January 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, 1756.

Anyone knowing of material, letters, diaries, etc., from those condemned for participation in any of the underground resistance movements in Europe during World War II will do a favor by communicating with Dr. Piero Malvezzi, via Carroccio 8, Milan, Italy. Dr. Malvezzi and Dr. Giovanni Pirelli are continuing

and broadening the study they began with the volume *Lettere di condannati a morte della Resistenza italiana*.

Corpus Christianorum, a new, complete, and critical edition of the Fathers of the Church to be published under the direction of the Abbey of St. Pierre de Steenbrugge, has begun publication with the first fascicule of Volume I of the Latin series, *Tertulliani Opera*, Part I. Initiated some four years ago, the project will include "not only patristic writings properly so called, but also conciliar, hagiographic and liturgical texts, sepulchral inscription, diplomas, etc., in short, whatever remains from the first eight centuries of Christendom in written monuments." The Latin series, which will include 175 volumes of 600-800 pages each, is outlined in a prospectus accompanying the first fascicule and is described in detail in a work recently published entitled *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*. The price per volume is 500 Belgian francs and subscribers to the whole series will benefit by a 10 per cent discount. Orders should be sent to *Corpus Christianorum*, Editions Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium.

The American Name Society, founded in 1951, has launched a new periodical. Called simply *Names*, the journal "is devoted to the dissemination of the results of study and research in the etymology, origin, meaning, and application of all classes of names—geographical, personal, scientific, commercial, popular." Correspondence should be addressed to the American Name Society, University of California Press, Berkeley 4, California. The editor is Erwin G. Gudde.

Volume I, Part 1, of the *Transactions* of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society has recently appeared. The Society was founded in 1952 to promote the study of history in the Gold Coast and Togoland, and in particular to promote the study of the history of the Gold Coast and adjacent territories in West Africa and their peoples. The society's address is c/o Department of History, University College of the Gold Coast, Achimota, British West Africa.

The American Philosophical Society "held at Philadelphia for the diffusion of useful knowledge" has again exemplified its purpose by preparing and publishing a beautifully printed and profusely illustrated volume, *Historic Philadelphia from the Founding until the Early Nineteenth Century* (*Transactions* of the Society, Vol. XLIII, Part I). A selection from the twenty-seven scholarly papers will be listed in the bibliography of periodical articles on American history in the October issue. As a citizen and founder of the society, Benjamin Franklin would appreciate this volume even if as a printer he would not understand how it could be sold for four dollars.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Corporation of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held at The Cloisters, Fort Tryon Park, New York, on April

18, 1953, the president of the Academy, William Edward Lunt of Haverford College, presiding. The following officers were elected, each for a term of three years: *First Vice-President*, Albert M. Friend, Jr., of Princeton University and the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library in Washington, D.C.; *Councilors*, Manfred F. Bukofzer of the University of California, Ernst Kantorowicz of the Institute for Advanced Study, Floyd S. Lear of the Rice Institute, and Charles E. Odegaard of the University of Michigan. The Haskins Medal was awarded to Professor Millard Meiss of Columbia University for his *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton University Press, 1951). Professors Sidney Painter of the Johns Hopkins University and S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado were inducted as Fellows of the Mediaeval Academy and Professor Helen Maud Cam of Harvard University and Radcliffe College and Charles T. Onions of Oxford were inducted as Corresponding Fellows. Among papers presented at the meeting were "Pro Saeculo XIV" by S. Harrison Thomson, "Tuoldus, Author of Roland?" by William A. Nitze of the University of California at Los Angeles, and "Norwich's Three Geoffreys" by Sidney Painter. At a dinner for members and their guests Professor Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University spoke on "Mediaeval Science and Magic in the Seventeenth Century."

The American Association for State and Local History will meet in Detroit on September 10, 11, and 12, under the auspices of the Ford Motor Company Archives and the Detroit Historical Commission.

Kent Roberts Greenfield delivered a series of three lectures on the new Brown and Haley Lectureship in History at the College of Puget Sound in Tacoma, Washington, on April 27-30. The subject of the series was "An Adventure in World War II History."

Douglas Southall Freeman will deliver the annual Randolph G. Adams Memorial Lecture for 1953 on October 6 at the University of Michigan. The lectureship was established by the Clements Library Associates.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation has awarded 252 one-year fellowships to college faculty members in the United States, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, for the academic year 1953-54. The following historians are among them: Franklin L. Baumer, Yale University; Norman O. Brown and Eugene O. Golob, Wesleyan University; Harry Bernstein and Samuel J. Hurwitz, Brooklyn College; Carl G. Gustavson, Ohio University; Alfred D. Low, Marietta College; Stephen Borsody, Pennsylvania College for Women; Joseph D. Applewhite, University of Redlands; Heinz E. Ellersieck, California Institute of Technology; Malcolm Moule, College of the Pacific and Stockton College; Dorothy O. Johansen and Richard H. Jones, Reed College; Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon; Helmut G. Callis, University of Utah; Cyclone Covey, McKendree Col-

lege; Walter W. Pese, Lake Forest College; Leften S. Stavrianos, Northwestern University; Howard Greenlee, Simpson College; Donald H. Stewart, Drake University; Louis G. Geiger, University of North Dakota; Paul Farmer and Michael B. Petrovich, University of Wisconsin; Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University; William R. Hogan, Tulane University; Marvin E. Lowe, University of Tulsa; J. Harry Bennett, Jr., and Joe B. Frantz, University of Texas; William L. Young, Bethany College, West Virginia.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded the following grants-in-aid to historians: O. Fritiof Ander, Augustana College, research on Swedish immigration and immigrants in the United States; Robert G. Athearn, University of Colorado, for research on W. T. Sherman and the American frontier, 1865-1883; John F. Cady, Ohio State University (visiting professor at Cornell University), for research on the history of Burma in the twentieth century; W. Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky, for research on Southern cultural history, 1790-1860; Arvel B. Erickson, Western Reserve University, for research in England on the public career of Edward T. Cardwell; Joe B. Frantz, University of Texas, for research on McKinney and Williams, the first mercantile house in Texas; Bert J. Loewenberg, Sarah Lawrence College, for research in England on Darwin and his influence on Western thought; Edmund A. Moore, University of Connecticut, for research on the church-state issue in the Smith-Hoover campaign of 1928; Charles Morley, Ohio State University, for research in western Europe on democracy and dictatorship in Poland, since 1918; Earl H. Pritchard, University of Chicago, for research in England on British and Anglo-Indian contacts with China, before 1842; Oliver H. Radkey, University of Texas, for research on the Socialist Revolutionary party of Russia; George W. Smith, University of New Mexico, for research on the economic history of the Northern states, 1861-1865; James M. Smith, Ohio State University, for research on opposition to the Alien and Sedition Laws in Virginia and Kentucky; Watt Stewart, New York State College for Teachers, Albany, for research on Minor C. Keith: Railroads and Bananas in Central America; William R. Willoughby, St. Lawrence University, for research on the politics of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. A travel grant for area research has been awarded to Benjamin Schwartz, Harvard University, for research in Japan on the intellectual history of modern China since the end of the nineteenth century.

The Association of Graduate Schools of the Association of American Universities has established a series of Woodrow Wilson Fellowships, one-year awards reserved for young scholars showing "marked promise for the teaching profession and possessing the highest qualities of intellect, personality, and character." The Wilson Fellowships Program amounts to systematic coverage of the United States and Canada in attracting to teaching some of the talent which "might well be

lost to the occupations and professions whose inducements seem more compelling and rewards more obvious." The fellowships have been underwritten by substantial contributions from the graduate schools involved and by two foundation grants—\$300,000 from the General Education Board and \$500,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, both for a five-year period. Earlier grants from the Carnegie Corporation, while the program operated under Princeton's direction, totaled \$150,000. The Wilson awards for 1953-54, the total value of which comes to approximately \$170,000, were bestowed upon representatives of seventy-four institutions and were divided among seventy-seven men and twenty-four women, the majority of whom completed their undergraduate courses of study in June, 1953. Nominations were made from 360 colleges and universities in the United States and Canada, with more than 900 of the original 1,263 nominees declaring themselves candidates for fellowships. Twenty-five history students were among the winners for the coming year. Information regarding application for future fellowships may be obtained from the National Director of the Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Program, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Three new projects of interest to historians have received Carnegie Corporation grants. Professors John Masland and Laurence Radway of the political science department of Dartmouth College will investigate the role of the "military statesman" in civil-military relations and the efficacy of present-day military education for such a role. Professor John E. Sawyer of Harvard University will go to the department of economics at Yale University to develop a new program of teaching and research in economic history. Professor Thomas W. Copeland of the University of Chicago will edit the complete correspondence of Edmund Burke, to be published by the University of Chicago Press.

The 1953 Pulitzer Prize for history went to George Dangerfield for *The Era of Good Feelings* (Harcourt, Brace) and the prize for biography to David J. Mays for his *Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803* (Harvard University Press).

The 1953 Loubat Prizes have been awarded by Columbia University to *A Dictionary of Americanisms*, edited by Mitford M. Mathews (University of Chicago Press, 1951), *Lincoln the President: Midstream* by James G. Randall (Dodd, Mead, 1952), and *Historical Geography of the United States* by Ralph H. Brown (Harcourt, Brace, 1948). Established in 1892 through a gift from Joseph F. Loubat, the prizes are awarded every five years by Columbia "in recognition of the best works printed and published in the English language on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America." Selections are made by a committee of judges appointed by the university.

The Bancroft Prizes for 1953 have been awarded to George Dangerfield for *The Era of Good Feelings* (Harcourt, Brace) and Eric F. Goldman for *Rendezvous with Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform* (Alfred A. Knopf). Established by the will of the late Frederic Bancroft, historian and former librarian of the Department of State, the Bancroft Prizes are awarded annually by Columbia University "for the best books published in the preceding year in the field of American history (including biography), diplomacy, or international relations." They carry a stipend of \$2,000 each.

The first annual book prize of the Institute of Early American History and Culture (see *AHR*, October, 1952, p. 237) was awarded to David J. Mays for his two-volume *Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803*.

John Hall Stewart of Western Reserve University has received a grant from the American Philosophical Society to continue his research on Ireland and the French Revolution. He will be in Europe from June to December of this year and will also give a couple of lectures at the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth.

A. B. Bender, professor of history in Harris Teachers College, St. Louis, has received a grant from the American Philosophical Society toward a research study of "Philip St. George Cooke and the American West."

The Robert D. W. Connor Award will be made by the North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association for the first time in 1953 and annually thereafter for the best article, based on original research in the field of North Carolina history, written by an undergraduate or graduate college or university student and published in the *North Carolina Historical Review*.

The David Berry Prize for the best essay dealing with Scottish history within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive will be awarded by the Royal Historical Society in 1955. Information about the competition may be obtained from the Secretary of the Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W.10.

The New Jersey Historical Society is looking for a librarian, preferably a man. The qualifications they ask for are administrative ability, training and experience in archival work, including cataloguing books and manuscripts, care and preservation of historical records, research and general library procedure. A knowledge of New Jersey history would be ideal but any experience in the local history field will be helpful. Apply to A. J. Wall, Jr., Director, care of the Society at 230 Broadway, Newark 4, New Jersey, except during the month of August.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Robert Livingston Schuyler, who retired in June from Columbia University, will be visiting professor of history at Hobart and William Smith colleges during 1953-54. He is the only historian to hold one of the six Whitney Visiting Professorships in the Humanities and Social Sciences awarded to retired professors by the John Jay Whitney Foundation for the coming year.

Wendell H. Stephenson of Tulane University has retired as editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and will join the staff of the University of Oregon in September as professor of history.

William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University has accepted appointment as professor of history in Tulane University and editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

Dumas Malone, professor of history in Columbia University, has been elected managing editor of the *Political Science Quarterly* to succeed John A. Krout, who has resigned after seventeen years as editor because of the pressure of his duties as vice-president and provost of the university.

Vernon Carstensen of the University of Wisconsin has taken over the editorship of *Agricultural History*, left vacant by the death of Everett Edwards last year. The business office of the Agricultural History Society remains in the Department of Agriculture in Washington.

Guido Kisch, research professor of history at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, was appointed visiting professor of the history of law at the University of Basel, Switzerland, for the spring semester, 1953.

Jay Monaghan of the Illinois State Historical Library has accepted appointment for 1953 as consultant to the endowed Wyles Collection of Lincoln, Civil War, and American expansion materials at Santa Barbara College of the University of California.

W. Turrentine Jackson of the University of California at Davis has been awarded a grant for the summer by the Huntington Library to do research on Scottish economic activities in western America. He will also teach at the University of Southern California during the summer session.

At the University of Cincinnati Paul Knaplund of the University of Wisconsin

delivered two Charles Phelps Taft lectures this year; C. William Vogel has been promoted to professor of history and Oscar E. Anderson to associate professor.

Gordon Wright of the University of Oregon is teaching in the Claremont summer session.

Eric C. Kollman, professor of history in Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, received a grant from the Department of State to go to Germany in June for three months to participate in a citizenship training program.

Edward O. Guarrant has been promoted to professor of history and international relations in Davidson College. During the summer he is teaching at the University of Southern California.

Frontis W. Johnston, chairman of the department of history at Davidson College, is teaching at Duke University summer session.

Paul H. Buck, provost of Harvard University, dean of the faculty of arts and sciences, and professor of American history, resigns his administrative duties on July 1 and, after a year's leave of absence will return to his professorship.

Thomas E. Drake has been promoted to full professor of history in Haverford College and has resumed the duties of the chairmanship of the department. Wallace T. MacCaffrey, of the University of California at Los Angeles, has been appointed associate professor of history at Haverford.

Charles B. Hirsch has been promoted to assistant professor of history in La Sierra College, Arlington, California.

Raymond B. Clark, Jr., who has served on the library staffs of Yale, the University of Virginia, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is now junior archivist at the Maryland Hall of Records in Annapolis.

John M. Blum has been promoted to associate professor of history in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Gerhard Masur of Sweet Briar College is teaching two graduate courses in the summer session of the University of New Mexico.

Howard M. Ehrmann of the University of Michigan is teaching in the summer session at Stanford University.

Robert C. Black and Norton Downs have been promoted to assistant professors of history in Trinity College.

Teaching at West Virginia University during the summer session are William G. Bean of Washington and Lee University and Russell J. Ferguson of the University of Pittsburgh.

Lowell Ragatz of the Ohio State University is teaching at Whittier College, California, during the summer session.

RECENT DEATHS

During the summer of 1952 it became known to James G. Randall and to his intimate friends that he was suffering from leukemia. He set his house in order, finished the third volume of his work on Lincoln as President, and began to write the fourth and final volume. Although he planned to attend the Christmas meeting of the Association, at which he was to read the presidential address, a change for the worse in his condition compelled him to remain in Urbana. He nevertheless continued research and writing on his fourth volume. He had finished nine chapters and outlined the rest of the book when he suddenly collapsed. Two days later, on Friday, February 20, death brought to a close a long and brilliant career as a teacher and scholar.

James G. Randall was born on June 24, 1881, in Indianapolis. He took his bachelor's degree at Butler College in 1903 and his Ph.D. at Chicago in 1911. After a tour of duty at various institutions including Roanoke College, where he married Ruth Painter, he came to the University of Illinois as assistant professor in 1920. Here for over thirty years he studied, lectured, and wrote on the administrative problems of the Civil War, which he had already begun to study in his book on the *Confiscation of Property during the Civil War* published in 1913. This book was followed by his study of *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln* (1926) and by his edition of the *Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (Vol. I, 1925; Vol. II, 1931), in which he entered upon his study of the Lincoln theme. His most outstanding work was his volume *Civil War and Reconstruction* (1937), although his greatest fame came from his studies of Lincoln's work as an executive. The first two volumes of *Lincoln the President* appeared in 1945 and the third in 1952. *Lincoln and the South* was published in 1946, and *Lincoln the Liberal Statesman*, in 1947. Randall's greatest success as a teacher lay in his direction of graduate study. Over the years he attracted a large number of able and even brilliant students whose researches have brought into clearer focus many of the subsidiary phases of Lincoln's work. Jim Randall is remembered at the University of Illinois for his unfailing kindness and gentleness and for his steady and unflinching devotion to the cause of exact scholarship.

William D. Ross, assistant professor of American history at the University of Dayton from 1947 to 1951, died in Flint, Michigan, March 10, at the age of fifty-five. Mr. Ross took his B.S. at Northern Michigan College of Education and

his M.S. at the University of Michigan. Possessed of keen wit and friendly disposition, Mr. Ross was an inspiring teacher. He was a member of the American Historical Association.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In reviewing my book *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* in the January number of the *American Historical Review* (p. 345) Professor G. C. Sellery takes issue with me on a statement of fact. Since the point is of some intrinsic interest and I was unable in my book to offer evidence, I crave the privilege of a word.

I had contended that Luther at the Diet of Worms was placed under the ban of the empire before he had been formally placed under the ban of the church by excommunication. Professor Sellery replies that the bull, *Exsurge Domine*, signed July 15, 1520, gave Luther sixty days from formal publication in which to recant. "If he did not do so, he was to be automatically excommunicate. The bull, *Decet Romanum*, January 3, 1521, for good measure announced that the excommunication had gone into effect. The result of these bulls seems clear" (p. 346).

To contemporaries it did not seem clear. The bull, *Exsurge*, certainly said that if Luther did not submit at the end of the sixty days, he would be excommunicate, but it did not say that the sentence would go automatically into effect, for who was to say when the sixty days was up? The time clock did not start ticking on the day when the bull was signed, but on the day when it was actually delivered to the person named. This, in Luther's case, had not taken place until October 10. His burning of the bull on December 10 was thus timed to coincide with the last day of grace according to his own reckoning. The general public, however, would not be aware of the sequence. The bull, *Decet Romanum*, was not added "for good measure," but to announce that the terminus had been exceeded and that the penalty would now take effect (Section 3, German translation in the St. Louis edition of Luther's works, XV, 1704 f.). But when did this bull take effect? It was dated January 3 and was addressed to all the prelates, and monks, divers and sundry, calling on them within three days of the receipt of the bull to execute it by the ringing of bells and the flinging of lighted tapers to the ground. The bull, then, had to be published before the penalty would go into operation. Nor did it suffice that the pope on January 18 informed the emperor that Luther was under the ban of the church. (Petrus Balan, *Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae*, 1884, No. 13). He was not actually excommunicate until the clergy were notified to refuse him Communion.

The publication of the bull was entrusted to Aleander, the papal representative at the Diet of Worms. On February 8 he wrote to Rome requesting that he be sent fifty copies of the bull against Luther in order that he might present it to the bishops and prelates (T. Brieger, *Aleander und Luther 1521, Die vollständigten Aleander-Depeschen* [Gotha, 1888], p. 48. The quotations following are from this work under the date.) On February 12, he wrote that on the tenth he had received a copy, and that he found in it many errors "inimical to our cause." These errors were not at the time specified, but we learn later in his correspondence that the chief offense lay in the inclusion of other names along with Luther's and, in particular, that of Ulrich von Hutten. Now, at that very moment Hutten was curdling the blood of Aleander with threats of violence. For that reason the bull

was withheld from publication and sent back to Rome for a new version in which the name of Hutten should be expunged.

On April 5 Aleander wrote to Rome, "Highly needful is a bull in every respect like the preceding [*Decet Romanum*] but there is no need to mention anyone save Luther, making no reference to Hutten nor to the rest [Pirckheimer and Spengler] because there are some here who murmur that they do not know whether Luther after the expiration of his period of grace has actually been declared a heretic, and they make this an excuse for favoring him. Besides, this is no expedient time for the publication of the former bull, since Hutten and all the German nobles will murder me even though I be in the bosom of the emperor. To be sure Hutten does not care a fig for excommunication on his soul's account, but because of the ignominy he would do something mad. Therefore, I beg you most immediately to send the requested bull that I may publish it at the Diet and the populace may thereby be terrified. I fully intend to publish this bull and the one against Hutten, and to print it after I am safely out of Germany, but God forbid that it should come out while we are at Worms, for it will do our cause no good, and cost us all our lives."

Again on April 29 Aleander wrote to Rome, "Please hurry the bull against Luther declaring him to be a contumacious heretic, making no mention of Hutten nor the others save Luther. The bull already sent [*Decet Romanum*] would have been most excellent if the others had not been named. This bull is then to be revised and sent to me as speedily as possible, because the official of Trier tells me that some of the princes, no doubt at the instance of one of the Lutherans, are commencing to say that the emperor should not issue a mandate against Luther before the Pope has made such a declaration."

The letter concludes, "Finally I repeat that you send the bull against Luther printed immediately and disseminated everywhere. Give it the same date as the previous one, January 3, and for the love of God, do it as quickly as possible, naming only Luther and his adherents in general. The other bull [*Decet Romanum*] I will publish when I leave Germany."

On May 8 he reported to Rome the arrival of the bull as follows: "The bull has come, naming only Luther and his adherents in general, yet I wish it had come earlier. In that case, I would have published it at Mainz, as the bull stipulates and mention would have been made of it in the Edict [of Worms], which cannot now be done."

Yet even then Aleander did not publish the bull. He explains why in a letter of May 18: "Albert of Mainz objects to having the bull published because it names him as one of those commissioned to execute it. He says that he would be in a most invidious position if he alone of the German clergy were singled out for this role."

Not until October, 1521, did Aleander inform a friend that he had actually published both bulls (Paul Kalkoff, "Zu Luthers römischen Prozess," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXV [1904], 145³).

One will observe from the above passages that contemporaries believed Luther was not under the ban of the church until the bull of excommunication had been formally published, and this is the justification for my statement that Luther was placed actually under the ban of the empire before the ban of the church went into effect.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Bainton may be right and I wrong, but if so I am wrong in the very good company of Grisar and A. C. McGiffert (see their lives of Luther), whom I followed in my review.

University of Wisconsin

G. C. SELLERY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

As one who has reviewed many books, I think I know something of the difficulties of writing competent reviews. Nevertheless, I am appalled by the confusion and misrepresentation exhibited in Gaines Post's review of my book *Marsilius of Padua and Medieval Political Philosophy* in the January, 1953, issue of the *American Historical Review* (p. 338-40). Seldom have I seen a review in which so many adverse criticisms are set forth with so little justification. Since the tone and content of Post's review may influence some of your readers in their attitude toward the book, I ask leave to point out some of the more glaring faults in his discussion of it.

(1) Post says that from what he calls my "virtual omission of legal thought, contradictions result"; and he proceeds to list four such "contradictions." Now it is a serious matter to say that a teacher of philosophy has contradicted himself and this four times. Let us therefore examine these alleged "contradictions."

(a) The first "contradiction" is that I hold that "Marsiglio was influenced by the government of Padua, yet his *valentior pars* was a principle of popular sovereignty." Where is the "contradiction" here? Contradiction consists in affirming and denying the same proposition. But it is one thing to assert an influence, and quite another thing to assert an identity. What I did say is far more complex than Post's simple statement makes out. I declared that there are "obvious and fundamental resemblances" between republican Padua and the Marsilian *civitas*, which I then proceeded to list (pp. 23-25). But I distinguished sharply between Padua as republican and Padua as undergoing the *signoria carrarese* from 1318 to 1405 (p. 30), and I also distinguished between a democratic, egalitarian, majoritarian popular sovereignty and one which, like the Aristotelian "polity," involves a combination of democratic and oligarchic principles. Moreover, I classified Marsilius' *valentior pars* under the latter rather than the former kind of popular sovereignty (pp. 196, 198-99). With these qualifications understood, there is no "contradiction" in attributing to Marsilius both a popular sovereignty (where the *populus* is a "political," not a "democratic" one; cf. pp. 180-82 of my book) and an influence from republican Padua.

(b) Post says that a second "contradiction" results from my view that Marsilius "made use of elements of the Roman law, yet his theories were more logical and modern." If Post can establish a contradiction in that juxtaposition, he must be using a new kind of logic. Where is there any inconsistency in saying that Marsilius used elements of Roman law and yet gave them an interpretation which is closer to that of some moderns than is found in Roman law itself? Post has here again confused influence and identity. Moreover, I nowhere declared that Marsilius' theories were "more logical" than Roman law.

(c) Still a further "contradiction" is found by Post in my view that Marsilius "believed in expedient, positive law, rejected a higher law, and yet championed a fundamental justice." Here again a "contradiction" is found only by oversimplifying my discussion of a complex subject. What I said was that Marsilius believed in

objective justice; his positivism "is a positivism with respect not to justice but to law" (p. 135). But on the other hand he refused to subject positive human law to a "higher law" because this "would open the way to the consequences of papal interference and anarchy" (p. 144), for reasons which I then proceeded to show. Thus Post's charge of a contradiction rests on a confusion between believing in objective norms of justice and providing for the subjection of positive human law to those norms by an agency other than the legislator of that positive law. Marsilius has the former, not the latter; but this does not involve him, or me, in contradiction.

(d) The parade of "contradictions" elicited by Post is concluded by his statement that, according to me, Marsilius "was by and large an Aristotelian, but trusted the goodness and wisdom of the many." This is a contradiction only if Aristotle at no point "trusted the goodness and wisdom of the many." But at *Politics* 1281a 40 Aristotle says: "There is this to be said for the Many. Each of them by himself may not be of a good quality; but when they all come together it is possible that they may surpass—collectively and as a body, although not individually—the quality of the few best" (Barker's translation); and Aristotle also goes on to speak of the "many qualities of character and intelligence" possessed by the many. It seems incredible that Post should be ignorant of this famous passage, or of the fact that Hobbes, for instance, regarded Aristotle as a source of democratic and libertarian sentiments (*Leviathan*, chap. 46). This is not, of course, Aristotle's sole view concerning "the many"; but I pointed out in my book that Marsilius' defense of the hegemony of the *valentior pars* "is based upon those brief passages of the *Politics* in which Aristotle tentatively defends the democracy which he elsewhere condemns" (p. 196). Thus here as elsewhere Post's accusation of "contradiction" is based on an oversimplification which ignores my explicit statements of the complexities of the issues.

I conclude, therefore, that not a single one of his accusations of "contradiction" can withstand critical scrutiny. A responsible scholar should not have made such a grave charge on so flimsy a basis.

Nor are Post's other criticisms any better grounded. There is space here to deal with only a few of them.

(2) Post twice says that I interpret Marsilius' *valentior pars* as meaning "numerical majority"; indeed, he refers to what he calls my "confident assertion that it means the numerical majority of all the citizens." This, however, is a distortion of what I said. To read Post, one would think that I had made no advance beyond the interpretation of *valentior pars* in terms of simple quantitative majoritarianism which Gierke, Emerton, and others among the older commentators accepted because they lacked a critical text of the crucial passage at *Def. Pac.* I. xii. 3. But on the contrary, I explicitly stated that "the *valentior pars* as he conceives it comprises not merely a bare majority (*major pars*) but an overwhelming majority" (p. 186); and I have a long discussion (pp. 185–99) in which the *difference* between a mere "numerical majority," on the one hand, and Marsilius' combination of "overwhelming majority" with qualitative criteria, on the other, is brought out in detail by comparison of Marsilius' statements with salient aspects of Aristotle and of Roman and canon law. Post's cavalier statement ignores this whole discussion and attributes to me a view quite different from the one which I set forth in detail.

(3) Post, disagreeing with my emphasis on the uniqueness of Marsilius' subjection of the priesthood to the temporal government, says that "Marsiglio, without denying divine and natural law and the ultimate goal of man, simply confines his discussion to the realm of the public law, to the problems of the *status*

praesentis saeculi, which includes, as in the legists, the priesthood." This, however, is false. It is false, moreover, on a crucial point bearing on the whole question of the relation of Marsilius' disposition of the church-state problem to that of his predecessors and contemporaries, including the legists. If it were true that Marsilius "simply confines his discussion to the problems of the *status praesentis saeculi*," then his position on this basic question would not differ from that of the legists. But, on the contrary, he provides for the human legislator's control over the appointment of priests, and this for reasons bearing on "eternal death" as well as "civil disadvantage" (*Def. Pac.* II. xvii. 11). He likewise provides that the legislator or temporal ruler can compel the priests to administer the sacraments, and this because of the *status futuri saeculi* (II. xvii. 8, 12, 15). Moreover, he provides that the legislators are to elect members of the general council which is to define articles of faith, and that the legislators can compel delegates to serve in the council, and all of this not only for reasons bearing on the *status praesentis saeculi* but also because of "the danger of shipwreck with respect to faith" (II. xx. 1-8). And at II. xxi. 8 Marsilius lists a large number of matters, ranging from fasting to the canonization of saints, concerning which the legislator "or the ruler by its authority" is to make decrees, and all this *pro statu praesentis saeculi vel venturi*. Similar passages in which Marsilius explicitly provides for the temporal government's control over the priesthood and religious matters for reasons bearing on the *status futuri saeculi* as well as that of the present world occur at II. xvii. 8, 12; II. xxi. 11; II. xxvi. 13, 16. It is in these ways that Marsilius' subjection of the priesthood and religion to the secular arm goes far beyond anything found in the legists. These matters were discussed in detail in my book, and were summarized on pages 295, 300-302. Post's confident assertions on this question both give a false impression of what I said and ignore all the considerations I advanced which prove the falsity of his own statement of the matter. If Post knows of any legists or other writers prior to or contemporary with Marsilius who held Marsilius' view on the subjection of the priesthood to the temporal government in spiritual matters and for spiritual reasons, then he is in possession of information which no other historian has yet discovered, and he owes it to his colleagues to reveal his sources.

(4) Post says that "*jus sacrum* (p. 9) is a serious misreading of D.I, I, 2 ("*Publicum jus in sacris*, etc."); it is certainly not divine law." I nowhere said or implied that it was divine law; here again Post attributes to me something I did not hold. Moreover, my use of *jus sacrum* to refer to the Digest's *jus in sacris* is also found in such reputable scholars as F. Schulz (*Principles of Roman Law*, trans. M. Wolff [Oxford, 1936], p. 27, n. 2) and C. H. McIlwain (*Growth of Political Thought in the West* [New York, 1932], pp. 144, 224); see also the long discussion of this and related points in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Jus sacrum*. The "serious misreading" is thus Post's, not mine.

(5) Post says that I do not "understand clearly the *plenitudo potestatis* of the pope." He provides no elucidation of this serious charge. Considering how much of my book is devoted to this very question, beginning from my careful summary, with detailed textual references, of the doctrine of the papalists concerning it (p. 8), I believe that I have the right to challenge him to prove his charge.

(6) Post likewise says that I do not understand "the expression *superiore carens* (p. 131), which means that the king is emperor in his own realm, not that the state has no suzerain." This interpretation of the expression by Post, however, is simply incorrect so far as Marsilius' use of it is concerned (and I was dealing only with this). Marsilius never refers to the "king" as *superiore carens*, but always

rather to the "legislator" (cf. II. xviii. 8; II. xxi. 1, 4; II. xxii. 9), whom he sharply distinguishes from the king or *princeps*. Moreover, if Post's interpretation were applied to the legislator, the expression *superiore carens* would be completely redundant, since Marsilius has *already* shown, from I. xii. 3 on, that the legislator (who is the *universitas civium*) possesses the supreme authority in the state. The expression as Marsilius uses it must hence refer to the relations between different "legislators," i.e., the supreme authorities of different states; and this was the interpretation I gave on page 131 of my book.

(7) Post attributes to me the position that Marsilius is "the first modern man." I never said anything of the kind. On the contrary, I explicitly dissociated my interpretation from those interpretations of Marsilius which proceed by "acclaiming in his thought departures from the medieval tradition, and anticipations of subsequent developments, which a closer study of Marsilius and of his predecessors would have shown not to be such departures or anticipations" (p. 12). Moreover, I pointed out the ways in which Marsilius' doctrine is different from that of such a celebrated "modern man" as Machiavelli in the *Prince* (p. 307). At other points I likewise differentiated Marsilius' ideas from those of various other moderns to which they had been assimilated by previous commentators: Locke on religious toleration (p. 164), Rousseau on the general will (p. 58, n. 34; p. 215), Montesquieu on the separation of powers (pp. 234-35), Bodin on sovereignty (p. 256), Hobbes on absolutism (pp. 121-25, 301-302, 310-11). Post's characterizations of my position as the kind of uncritical acclamation of Marsilius' "modernity" which I explicitly disavowed and carefully avoided, give the readers of this *Review* a completely misleading impression of both my procedure and my interpretation.

(8) Concerning Post's reference to what he calls my "pompous verbiage" I will say nothing not suggested by my above comments; I will leave it to him to reflect on the ethics of discussion. But I must protest against his statement that in my interpretation Marsilius' corporate theory becomes "a profoundly mystical 'holism.'" I did indeed call it a "holism," but I nowhere said or implied that there was anything "mystical" about it. On the contrary, I pointed out both its similarities to antecedent "whole-part" doctrines (pp. 216-17) and the drastic way in which Marsilius used it to give to the corporate people a complete political superiority in both spiritual and temporal matters. Here as elsewhere both the tone and the content of Post's comments convey a quite misleading impression of my book.

Post's review is of a kind which does a distinct disservice to the cause of sound scholarship and of fruitful communication among scholars.

University of Chicago

ALAN GEWIRTH

[The editor should perhaps explain that at his request Professor Post cut his review to about one third its original length to conform to space limitations of the *Review* and thus deleted the detailed explanations of his criticisms. No such restrictions have been imposed on Professor Gewirth.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

What Mr. Mitrany says about the nature of his book in his recent communication (*AHR*, April, 1953, pp. 793-94) is very like what I said about it in my review. He calls it an essay, so do I; he contrasts it with Roberts' study, so do I. Indeed, if I read Mr. Mitrany's communication aright, he and I differ only over the meaning to be attached to the word "thesis." When I said that Roberts' analysis "occasionally shakes some of Mitrany's chief theses," I did not at all intend "theses" to

mean "theses for the solution of practical present-day issues," as Mr. Mitrany interprets the term, nor do I think that many of my readers would read it in this sense. I intended rather to suggest that some of Mr. Mitrany's conclusions were at least open to question, and I went on to indicate which ones and why I thought so. There is nothing in Mr. Mitrany's communication which makes me feel I ought to reconsider.

Harvard University

ROBERT LEE WOLFF

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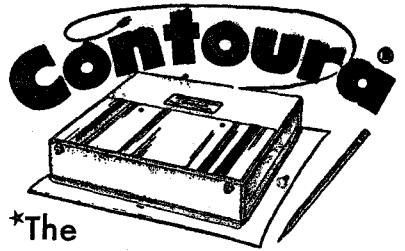
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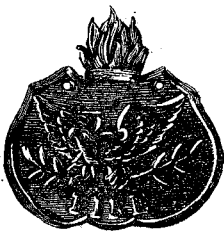
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